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PREFACE

This little history has been long delayed, chiefly by reason of fresh and unexpected calls upon the time of the writer. One result of the piecemeal compilation due to these calls has been, that when the material was all put together it proved to be too much by one-third part. It is to be feared that the necessary excisions have left their mark upon the surviving text; and they have naturally removed much of the matter which might have been of some interest to general readers as being less closely connected with the little College itself.

It is obviously impossible, in the history of a College in Cambridge, to keep clear of two great books, the Dictionary of National Biography, and the Architectural History of the University of Cambridge and the Colleges. The first volume of the Dictionary appeared in 1884. The details of the history of the College and of its eminent members had been collected by the present writer, for Commemoration Sermons, years before that date. He has only found in the Dictionary two names of men whose history he did not know as members of St. Catharine's. But he desires to express his indebtedness to the authors of many of the biographies for facts beyond his previous knowledge. As

regards the other delightfully complete book, published in 1886, references in its preface, and in the notes on that part of it which relates to St. Catharine's, will show that its principal author, Mr. J. W. Clark, to whom the writer in common with all Cambridge men owes so much, will not regard anything in the present little book as plagiarism.

The précis which Dr. Philpott made of the College documents and registers has been of the greatest value. The MS. is now in the possession of the writer, by Dr. Philpott's gift, but will be placed shortly in the College Library.

The writer desires here to thank Dr. Robinson the Master of the College, and Mr. Carr, Mr. Spratt, and Mr. Southward, Fellows of the College, for the readiness and the value of the help they have given to their old colleague in this endeavour to set forth something of the history of a College so much larger than its size or its endowments.

G. F. BRISTOL

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PALACE, BRISTOL: October 1, 1902.

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CHAPTER I

The foundation and style of the College—The founder; the facts of his life—The overthrow of Henry VI, and its effect upon the foundation—Reasons for the dedication to St. Catharine—Arms of the College—The contemporary commencement of printing.

St. Cathabine's College was founded by Robert Woodlark, D.D., Provost of King's College, Master of the Works there, and more than once Chancellor of the University. He describes it in his own documents as a House or Hall, domus sive aula, vocata aula sanctæ Katerinæ, vulgariter dicta Saynt Kateryn's Hall of He was engaged in the acquisition of a Cambrige. site for his College for a number of years, and it was opened on St. Catharine's Day, 1473. In this little history it will be called variously "Catharine Hall," "Catharine," and "St. Catharine's"; or, in obedience to the change of title imposed by the University Commission of 1854, "St. Catharine's College." The author prefers the old name which he first knew, Catharine It need scarcely be remarked that there is Hall. serious question as to the correctness of the spelling Catharine. The Founder was probably nearer the truth in his spelling, Kateryn, and the Russians are probably nearer still in their "Ekaterine."

Of Robert Woodlark, our Founder, Fuller says that "herein he stands alone, without any to accompany him, being the first and the last who was Master of one College and at the same time Founder of another."

He was born at Wakerley, near Stamford, in Northamptonshire, in what year we do not know. We learn from his Statutes that his parents' names were Richard and Joan. He had a sister called Isabella, married first to William Bryan and then to John Caunterbury, Clerk of the Works at King's College. In 1441 he was made by King Henry VI. one of the original Fellows of his new and small College of St. Nicholas. Two years later, the King greatly enlarged his plan and created a magnificent College, the King's College of St. Mary and St. Nicholas, and of this College, known now as "King's," all the Fellows of the smaller College became Fellows. Woodlark was made Provost of King's College in May 1452, and in December of that year he succeeded Close, another of the original Fellows, as Master of the Works, which were still far from completion. In 1456 he negotiated with Laurence Booth, the Chancellor, the terms of admission of King's College into the University. In this "composition" the Chancellor undertakes that he will not attempt to exercise his jurisdiction within the bounds of King's in criminal and testamentary cases. The theory still is that the Proctors do not notice offenders of any College within the bounds of King's, and this theoretical freedom from University jurisdiction is supposed to descend from the fact that the King gave to the Provost the right of "pit and gallows," and the Chancellor recognised that as conferring independence of his power in criminal cases and in disciplinary offences.

In 1459, Woodlark was himself chosen to be Chancellor of the University, and again in 1462. Five years later, Woodlark was made the subject of a special grace, allowing him to be absent from con-

gregations of the University, unless called in by name. In October 1479 he ceased to hold the Provostship of King's. A letter of the Master of Benet College describes him as having been for some time, by age and sickness, not whole of mind,* but the records of King's College seem to indicate that he was deprived of the Provostship by Edward IV. for refusing to give Ewern to the College of Windsor. In 1486 he was dead. The earliest Register of the College describes him in three very attractive words—benignus, mansuetus, humilis.

Woodlark did not hold much Church preferment, nor any of great value. In 1453 he was collated to the Mastership of the free chapel of Whittlesford Bridge, a highly interesting building which still stands, used as a barn but in very fair order, close to the Whittlesford Station. This he held till 1460. In 1457 he was presented to the Rectory of Kingston, Cambs., but he held it less than a year. In 1471 he was presented to the Rectory of Coton, resigning this in 1474, a few months after being presented by Henry Bourchier, Earl of Essex, to the Rectory of St. Vigors, Fulbourn.

It seems clear, when the facts of his life are considered, the favour of the King, and the conditions of the times, that Woodlark's course would naturally have ended in some important bishopric. If that had come to pass, St. Catharine's would, no doubt, have ranked with other Colleges episcopally founded, and would have had, to begin with, a Master and ten Fellows,

^{*} The Master was angry when he said this. He was complaining that rents due to Benet College had been withdrawn these ten yeres, "be the tyme of Mr. Woolark that was Profest & by Age & Sekness noth holle of Mynde that was not payd be 3 yerys,"—Hist. C.C.C.C., p. 29 of Appendix (Cole's reference).

with a liberal endowment for a College on that scale. We know, indeed, that such was Woodlark's original purpose, even with the money which he had already acquired. But the ruin of Henry VI.'s cause was the ruin of his prospects of further advancement; and it meant for him, besides, the loss of a large amount of the money destined by him for the foundation of his College. This, as we shall see, is brought out in a very interesting manner in a document still in the possession of the College, called, from the colour of its binding, the *Memoriale Nigrum*. It is the account which the Founder gives, in his own handwriting, of the establishing and opening of St. Catharine's.

When the time came to build and endow his little College, Dr. Woodlark was very particular to make it clear that the entire cost was paid out of his own funds. This carefulness to guard against misconception was not unnecessary, for as Master of the Works at King's he had the spending of large sums of King Henry's money, and he had access to as much timber and stone as he could need. No money intended for the works at King's, he tells us in the Memoriale Nigrum, not even ad valorem unius quadrantis, "not a farthing of the money," went towards the cost of St. Catharine's. was appointed Master of the Works, he tells us, by the King's letters patent in the thirtieth year of Henry VI. —to be quite accurate, the letters patent are dated 12 December 31 H. 6, i.e., 1452—and he held the office till the works then in hand were completed. Henry was taken captive, he continues, by the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, the Earls, to please the captive King, promised and willed that Woodlark should by royal letters be enabled to procure an abundance of

workmen, in order that the works of the College (i.e., King's) and the Collegiate Church in particular, should be carried on with all possible speed; and in this, they said, they had the King's complete approval. Accordingly, the Receiver-General of the Duchy of Lancaster was directed to supply for the purpose £1000 a year, each year's income being sufficient—if Woodlark had so used it-to endow in perpetuity the Mastership and ten Fellowships of the College which he had intended to found. But fresh troubles coming, the promise of the two Earls and the directions of the Receiver-General could not be fulfilled. All the receivers of the rents of the Duchy were compelled, on pain of being discharged, to pay all moneys to the King (Edward IV.) and his Council at London; the works at King's College were stopped; and the money advanced by Dr. Woodlark out of his own pocket for that year, on faith of the £1000 to come, was never repaid to him. Michaelmas 1459 to Easter 1461 he spent upon the works more than he received by £328 10s. 4d. A few years later, £66 13s. 4d. was regarded as an amount sufficient to found a Fellowship, provide expenses not inconsiderable for obit days, and leave a balance for the College. The income of a Fellow was at that time £4, and the income of a scholar less than £2. Thus it may be said that the foundation of King's College owes to the foundation of St. Catharine's an amount of money sufficient for the foundation of four Fellowships and two Scholarships of value sufficient completely to maintain the scholars.

When Woodlark found that no money was forthcoming from the promised source, for the payment of expenses already incurred, he pledged his own property for the settlement of all claims; that he did so settle the whole, he declares himself ready to prove at all times and all hours. And when this had been done, and still there was no possibility of remedy,

"I sent," he tells us, "for Thomas Betts, the auditor of the accounts both of the College and of the works, which were always kept separate, and on inspection of the bills of expenses and of payments I was found and by the auditor adjudged to be in surplusage to the extent of £328 10s. 4d. And what return I ever received, except such of the materials as remained, let any one tell who knows."

We must now consider the probable reasons for Woodlark's choice of a name for his new foundation. Saint Catharine's was not a new name in Cambridge. There was a Hospitium Sancte Katerine on the site of the south-east corner of the Great Court of Trinity, with Fishwick Hostel and St. Margaret's Hostel lying between it and Michael House, the latter occupying the south-west corner of the Great Court. This Katerine or Katryne Hostel was called also Le Mighell Angell, and The Angel. It was bequeathed to Michael House in 1349 by Johanna Repham.* We can carry the ownership of the rent of Katryne Hostel to the Priory of Thremhall, in the parish of Stansted, in Essex, by the accidental survival of a leaf of the receipt-book of that Priory.† The following items of reserved rent appear:

"Of the Master and Scholars of Michael House for the Hostel called Sent Margaretys xviiid.

Of John Ffyschenweke for the tenement lying between the said Hostel and the Hostel called Katryne Hostel and for the tenement in which William Ffyschenweke lately dwelled iiis. viiid.

Of the Master and Scholars of Michael House for the tenement called Katryne Hostel

viiid.

In the eighth year of Henry VII. (1493) the Prior of Thremhall gave to King's Hall (the northern part of the Great Court of Trinity) all its rents of the gift of John Engayne, except that of Fyshwick Hostel.

The Hundred Rolls of Cambridgeshire, one of the six counties whose complete Rolls of 1279 are extant, describe* two messuages in St. Michael's parish as follows:

"Adam Burges has a messuage by ancient purchase, and pays iiis. per annum to the Prior of Tremehal by assignment of John de Engayn,† the head of the fee, who gave the rent to the said Prior.

"Richard le Ber has a messuage by ancient purchase, and pays iiis. id. per annum to the Prior of Tremehall by assignment of John de Engayn, who gave the said rent to the Prior."

It is conceivable that, if we knew more of the details, some connection might be found between this early Katryne Hostel belonging to Michael House and Woodlark's choice of a name. One of his houses in Milne Street had a rent reserved to Michael House; and he gave to his little College the reversion of lands at Over on the death of Alice Fischwyck. So late as 1443, Michael House sold to King's Hall a piece of land described in the conveyance as part of the garden of St. Katherine's Hostel,‡ so that the name was still in use a few years before Woodlark formed the idea of founding a College.§

^{*} ii. 379, 389.

[†] A later John de Engayne, as we shall see, was patron of Coton in 1349.

‡ Willis and Clark, ii. 425.

[§] The Court-rolls of the Prior of Thremhall are in the possession

While it is well to mention these facts, in case some unexpected evidence should in the course of time be discovered, there can be little doubt, if any, as to the immediate moving causes of the selection of Saint Catharine as the Patron Saint of the College. We have seen that Woodlark stood high in the trust of King Henry VI. The King, whose mother was a Catharine, had special regard for Saint Catharine, and the general devotion to the Saint was a feature of the time.* In 1440 the King commenced the foundation of Eton, and in 1441 of King's. In this latter year he turned his attention to the great Hospital and Collegiate Church of St. Katharine by the Tower, the special possession of the Queens of England, founded by Matilda, Queen of Stephen, in 1148; refounded in 1273 by Eleanor, Queen of Henry III., in the first year of her widowhood; enlarged by Charter of Philippa,† Queen of Edward III., in 1351. Henry VI. gave to it in 1441 its Great Charter, erected it into a royal peculiar, and made a grant of lands ad laudem gloriam et honorem Crucifixi et beatissime Virginis Marie matris ejus necnon gloriose Virginis et Martiris Katerine. This gave so great an impulse to the cult of St. Catharine. that when Reginald Pecock published his Repressor of overmuch blaming of the Clergy, in 1455, he used the

of the lord of the manor, Colonel Archer Houblon, of Hallingbury Place, Essex, who has kindly allowed the writer to examine them; but they throw no light on the question of Katryne Hostel.

^{*} St. Katharine was one of the earliest religious dramas acted in England. St. Margaret was equally popular. Henry VI. had adopted St. Margaret for the dedication of his Queen's College.

[†] In Philippa's Ordinations the Queen sets forth that "we have chosen the glorious Virgin of God and Martyr, Katherine the handmaid of Chastity, to be our Mediatrix with God as also our propitious and blessed Patroness."

devotion shown to this Saint as an evidence of the value of pilgrimages, a point which he was arguing against the Lollards.* It is worth while for our present purpose to quote his quaint argument:

"Confirmation unto this purpose may be this. When the day of Saint Kateryn shall be come, mark who so will in his mind all the books which be in London written upon Saint Kateryn's life and passion, and I dare well say that though there were x thousand more books written in London in this day of the same Saint's life and passion, they should not so much turn the city into mind of the holy famous life of Saint Kateryn, and of her dignity in which she now is, as doth in each year the going of people in pilgrimage to the College of Saint Kateryn besides London, as I dare put this into judgment of whom ever hath seen the pilgrimage done in the vigil of St. Kateryn by persons of London to the said College. Wherefore right great special commodities and profits into remembrance making images and pilgrimages have and do, which writings not so have and do."

Woodlark's first purchasing of a site for his college was effected less than four years after Pecock published his *Repressor*.

Add to this that Saint Catharine was regarded as the patroness of learning, and we have three converging causes for Woodlark's selection of the name of his College, (1) the action of Henry VI., (2) the public estimation of the Saint, (3) her reputed learning. The King himself must have had more to do with it than appears on the surface, as may be gathered from a consideration of the arms used by Woodlark, no doubt by

^{*} Repressor, Rolls Series, No. 19, part ii. ch. ii. p. 215.

the King's appointment. He impaled with his own arms the Catharine wheel, and his arms are eloquent of the royal favour. He carried gules a lion of England or, an dazure a fleur-de-lys of France or, parted by a bend dancetty (in another example the bend is indented). The Heralds' College was not founded till 1484, when that much-abused king, Richard III., who did some interesting things, gave its Charter on March 2. Woodlark's Patent is not among the Patents prior to their foundation which the Heralds' College has, some of them going back to the time of Edward III. Dragon assures the writer that the colours and charges and coat are clearly royal. The late Dr. Woodham, of Jesus College, remarks that the College arms must have been specially designed for the Society, without any reference to the personal arms of the founder, and that no other instance is known of such use except in the case of royal foundation; but we have seen that the dexter shield bears in fact the arms of Woodlark. Rouge Dragon instances the cases of Eton and King's College, whose arms, also royal, were granted by Woodlark's patron Henry VI. An impaled coat was not very common so far back as 1450, and a royal coat impaling the symbol of the Saint of dedication is unique among College bearings. It is well worth consideration whether the College should not resume its arms as Woodlark had them, the royal lion of England and the royal lily of France impaling the passion wheel of St. Catharine.*

It is not necessary, in a College history, to do more than allude to the spread of the new learning which resulted from the expulsion of the Greek teachers on

^{*} The arms in this form were placed on the silver plate presented by the College to Dr. Moule, Bishop of Durham, in 1901.

the fall of Constantinople in 1453; but the coincidence of date must not be entirely overlooked. It is another interesting coincidence that Woodlark was developing his purpose by active steps at the time when the art of printing was in its very first infancy. The two came to effective maturity, as it were, together. Woodlark opened his College in 1473. In 1474 the first book printed in English, The Recuyell, was printed by Caxton at his colleague Mansion's press at Bruges. In 1475 Woodlark obtained his Charter from King Edward IV., and in that year the second book printed in English, The Game and Playe of the Chesse, was issued by Caxton from the same press. Two years later, the first book printed in England was issued from Caxton's press at Westminster, The Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers, and in the same year the Licence for Divine Worship in the College Chapel was granted. These coincidences, mere coincidences though they be, may not improperly be held to impose by their natural force some special obligations on the members of the College in modern times.

CHAPTER II

The gradual acquisition of a site for the College—The building—The opening of the College—Further purchases of land—Apostolical authority—Commencement of gifts from the outside—The Chapel; licences for Divine Service—Recognition as a constituent College of the University.

There is one evident advantage in the smallness of a College when its history comes to be written, namely, that the facts are not overwhelmingly numerous, and the notices of the distinguished Members of the College are naturally within fair compass. This gives an opportunity for details not admissible in a short history of a great foundation. There is of necessity the corresponding disadvantage that many of the details may appear trivial to persons who are not specially interested in the College, if any such should happen to glance at this little book. The real student of the times dealt with cares less for the chronicling of strong ale, finding matter more illustrative in the detailed records of smaller events.

First, of course, a site had to be secured. For this purpose Woodlark purchased in 1459 two tenements in Mill Street, now Queens' Lane—properly Milne Street, i.e., the street with two or more mills on it. The mill at the south end was "the King's Mill," at the end of Silver Street, then called Small Bridges Street; the other was at the far end of Milne Street, which ran straight across the present site of King's as far as Trinity Hall. It was a main street of Cambridge. Woodlark bought

the two tenements of John Botewright, Chaplain of Henry VI. and Master of Corpus, and two others, joint owners with him. They were in the parishes of St. Edward and St. Botolph, and were subject to a quit rent of 3s. a year, payable to the Master and Fellows of Michael House. In 1471 he purchased a tenement adjoining these on the north, between them and the inn called le Blakbull. He bought it of the Master and Fellows of Michael House, and it was subject to a quit rent of 8s. a year to that College. It is not said to be in any parish. It was leasehold for ninety-nine years of Edward Bishop of Carlisle,* Master of Michael House. In that year or the next he arranged to purchase a tenement adjoining on the south, but the negotiation was not completed. In 1472 he bought the tenement next to that again on the south, leaving thus the tenement which he had failed to purchase cutting his property into two unequal parts. This fourth tenement was acquired from the Chantry of St. Mary and St. Nicholas in St. Clement's Church; it was leasehold for ninety-nine years, subject to a rent of 8s. a year to the Chantry, with the condition that at the end of ninetynine years another lease for ninety-nine years should be granted, and so on for ever. At the end of the first ninety-nine years there were no more Chantries. The lease was given by Robert Blakamore, the perpetual Chaplain of the Chantry, with the consent of John Damlette the Vicar, and the parishioners, of St. Clement's.

Woodlark had now acquired four out of five tenements on the east side of Queens' Lane, with short gardens at

^{*} Story was Master of Michael House 1450 to 1477, Bishop of Carlisle 1468 to 1478, and Bishop of Chichester 1478 to his death in 1503.

the back towards the High Street, now called Trumpington Street, not stretching half way to that street. The tenements extended from the entrance to the Bull Inn southwards towards Silver Street, opposite to the White Friars or Carmelites, where now the northern part of Queens' College stands. The fourth of the five was not as yet Woodlark's property, but he had an access behind it to the last of the five.

On the site of the three tenements nearest to the Bull Inn, Woodlark built his little quadrangle. It had its only entrance from Milne Street, nearly coinciding with the entrance to staircase D, at the boundary between the two parishes still marked there. The Library stood on the north side of the quadrangle, on the site of the Michael House tenement next the Bull yard. The Chapel was at the south-east corner, and projected a little beyond the exterior of the quadrangle eastwards. The isolated tenement on the south, with some narrow access from the quadrangle, was called in the College books the Wood House, probably consisting of chambers built of perishable material.

In one of the years of great drought (1877) we saw very clearly on the grass of the College Court the lie of the Chapel walls and the corner buttresses; they extended about half way across the grass-plot from west to east, and about half way also from north to south. Thus a fair idea of the size of the original quadrangle will be obtained by taking the rectangle forming the north-west quarter of the grass-plot, and carrying its boundary-lines on the south and east through to Queens' Lane and to the north wall of the present Hall respectively. It was a very small beginning, very much smaller than its founder had purposed

when he began in the days of his prosperity to acquire sites for a College of a Master and ten Fellows.

Woodlark states in his Memoriale Nigrum that he had collected and brought to Cambridge timber for building from the neighbourhood, "from Coton to Horningsey," long before he actually began to build, no doubt at the time when his first purchase was made (1459) and his patron Henry VI. was in power. Such stone as he wanted he got from six roods of land in the quarry at Hinton, copyhold of the Duke of Norfolk, hired by him for fourteen years from 1459 or 1460, another evidence that he had intended to build his College then. The rent of this portion of the quarry was 18d. a year; but Woodlark had also to pay arrears of rent left unpaid by the Clerk of the Works at King's College in consequence of the stoppage of the work there on the deposition of the King. If he had not paid these arrears, the Duke of Norfolk would have taken back the land leased to him for the building of his own College.

Woodlark's College was so far finished on St. Catharine's Day, November 25, 1473, as to be habitable; and on the very next day two persons went into Commons as Fellows, Magister Petrus Welde and Dominus Johannes Wardall, and certain others as Fellow Commoners of whom two only are named by Dr. Woodlark, James Wylborde and Edmund Bacton: these two afterwards became Fellows. The College had no corporate existence as yet and no property; Dr. Woodlark provided all that was necessary, and everything still belonged to him. He was evidently anxious that the studies of the place should begin on the first possible day, and should be going on while he

was completing the business arrangements. What the studies were to be he expressed in plain and remarkable words in the preface to the Statutes: "I have founded and established a College or Hall to the praise, glory, and honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, of the most glorious Virgin Mary His Mother, and of the holy virgin Katerine, for the exaltation of the Christian faith, for the defence and furtherance of Holy Church, the growth of the sciences and faculties of philosophy and sacred theology."

The next step was to provide in perpetuity for the payment of the reserved rents of the leasehold tenements, amounting to 19s., nearly a quarter of the stipend of a Fellow. Woodlark had for some years been buying portions of land in Grantchester, both arable and pasture, to meet the 11s. payable to Michael House. Between October 1466 and April 1471 he acquired in all for this special purpose eleven acres, at peppercorn rents; the produce of these would in his opinion always suffice to meet the annual payment of 11s. To meet the 8s. a year to the Chantry in St. Clement's he assigned other pieces of land in Grantchester, Barton, and Cambridge, five and a half acres in all. These were only small parts of his purchases of land during these years for the purposes of his College.

At some earlier period in the course of his arrangements, Woodlark had contemplated a request for apostolical authority to constitute his foundation for a Master and ten Fellows, to study Philosophy and Divinity, into a College in the fullest sense, that is, that they might have a common chest, a common seal, and all other insignia of a College. The memorandum of this request is, curiously enough, the last entry in the

Memoriale Nigrum. It has no date or other detail. We do not know to whom it was intended to be addressed, nor what the reply was if it was ever sent. The large number of Fellows (ten) appears to make it clear that the petition was framed before the overthrow of Henry VI., that is, before 1460, at a time when Woodlark had larger expectations and larger ideas than he afterwards had. The probability—it may be called a certainty—is that it was never sent. At another place in the Memoriale Woodlark describes his foundation as for "a Master and certain Fellows." As we shall see, his College had, when completely founded, a Master and only three Fellows, and its Charter named "three or more."

When we come to the Charter of King Edward, and the licence for divine service in the Chapel, and the Founder's Statutes, we shall see that there is no mention of apostolical authority for the establishment of the College.* Twenty years before, the Chapel of the Queen's College (as it then was) had been consecrated by the Bishop of Ely, and no reference was made to papal intervention. But the intervention of the Pope was very direct and real in that century. In 1430 the University informed Pope Martin V. that they had lost the originals of the Bulls of his predecessors, giving to the Chancellor of the University exclusive ecclesiastical and spiritual jurisdiction, as against any Archbishop, Bishop, or Archdeacon, or their officials. The Pope's Bull in reply, commanding an inquiry, was brought before the Prior of Barnwell, who gave sentence in favour of the privileges

^{*} Licentia regia ad id obtenta is the only authorisation mentioned by Woodlark in his Statutes.

claimed. This sentence was confirmed three years later by Eugenius IV.

Help from the outside began very soon to come in. While the little College was still in building, in the early part of 1473, the Lady Joan Barnardiston gave 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.) towards the building, ad primum edificium collegii, on condition that a Fellow of the College in Priest's Orders should be specially appointed by the Master of the College for the time being, always to pray and celebrate for the safety of her soul and of the souls of her benefactors. This was the first direct gift to the College, and it is specially noted in the concluding paragraph of the Founder's original Statutes. It enabled him so far to complete his College as to open it, as we have seen, in the autumn of the same year, 1473.

There was one matter in connection with the tenements, now replaced by the quadrangle of the College, which needed careful attention. It was no trifling matter in those days. The two principal tenements were in two parishes; the evidence of the fact is conspicuous in these modern days by the names of the parishes painted on either side of the entrance to staircase D. Fifty years ago the churchwardens of each of the respective parishes, when occupied in beating the bounds of their parish, used to have considerable skirmishes with the undergraduates in the rooms on the other side of the entrance to the staircase. skirmishes were the descendants of early difficulties. Woodlark had to solve the knotty question of the Church dues between the two parishes. It was agreed that the praedial tithes should be divided in the proportion of the sites in the respective parishes, but all personal tithes were to go to the Rector of St. Edward's.

For some little time after the opening of the College, while the Chapel was being built, the members of the College no doubt attended the parish church or churches; but in thirteen months' time the Chapel was sufficiently advanced to be ready for use, and two licences for the celebration of divine service are in existence. It will be convenient to speak of both now, though the second is of rather later date.

The first is very short. It was granted on January 15, 1475, to Woodlark as Founder by William* Bishop of Ely, as follows: By tenor of these presents we grant by our pontifical authority to thee and the other fellows of the said hall or college, and others willing and able, our special licence to celebrate or cause to be celebrated masses and other divine offices in the chapel constructed within the said hall or college, but without prejudice to the rights of any other. Given under our seal in our house in Holborne,† &c.

This was a temporary licence, the College not having as yet received its Charter, and the Chapel itself not being finished. It will be observed that the Bishop makes no reference to any authority for the building of the College or of its Chapel.

The second is the full licence, granted (still to Woodlark as Founder) three years after the royal Charter, the Chapel being now completed. In it no reference is made to any authority for the existence of the College other than that of the King. It was

^{*} This was William Grey, Bishop of Ely June 21, 1454, to Aug. 4, 1478, on which day he died. He was Lord Treasurer.

[†] The fine chapel of Ely House still stands in Ely Place, Holborn; it is in the hands of the Romans.

granted on September 26, 1478, seven weeks after the death of Bishop William Grey, whose successor, John Morton, was elected five days after his death, but is not mentioned in this document, his confirmation not having as yet taken place. It was granted by William Pykenham, doctor of laws, archdeacon of Suffolk, vicar-general and guardian of the spirituality of the city and diocese of Ely, during the vacancy of the see, sufficiently and lawfully deputed thereto by Thomas,* of the holy Roman Church priest-cardinal of St. Ciriac in Thermæ, Archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the Apostolic See. It recites the foundation of the College in honour of Almighty God and the Blessed Virgin Mary His mother † and of St. Katharine, Virgin and Martyr, the King's licence having been obtained for a Master and presbyter-fellows to serve God devoutly in the divine offices and to study philosophy and sacred theology; and authorises the Master, Fellows, and Chaplains, to say or cause to be said masses and the canonical morning hours and other divine offices and services, with note or without note, but so that no prejudice arise to the parish church of the College; and licence is given for others to hear such services. seal of the official of the Consistory of Ely, which Dr. Pykenham had at hand, was affixed, and the licence was given in the conventual church of Barnwell.

We might have hoped to find some record of the steps by which St. Catharine's became recognised by the University as one of the constituent Colleges. Some years

^{*} This was Archbishop Thomas Bourchier, who had been William Grey's predecessor at Ely: he was succeeded as Archbishop in 1486 by William Grey's successor at Ely, John Morton.

[†] In honorem omnipotentis Dei ac beatæ Mariæ virginis genitricis ejusdem.

ago the Council of the Senate made attempts to ascertain from the records of the University the steps by which such recognition had been given in the case of any College; but no record could be found. All that can be said in the case of St. Catharine's is that Richard Balderston, a Fellow of the College, served the office of Proctor in 1501, twenty-six years after the Charter, and William Capon in 1509; that in 1514 St. Catharine's was given four turns of appointment of Proctor in each forty-four years; and that a Master of the College served the office of Vice-Chancellor in 1523.

Considering that the first date at which we find a member of the College serving, as such, an office in the University in the nomination of the Colleges, is 1501, it is not unreasonable to suppose that St. Catharine's was declared to be a College in the year 1500. In that year "Colleges" were exempted from payments towards a subsidy, and the collectors refused to treat as "Colleges" those institutions which were not technically called Colleges. "Peterhouse" and "St. John's House" petitioned the King for exoneration, and the King ordered his attorney to confess to the Barons of the Exchequer that those institutions were Colleges. We learn this from the Baker MSS., and it seems probable that other Houses and Halls took occasion to have their status recognised.

^{*} Cooper, Annals of Cambridge, i. 254.

CHAPTER III

Further gifts—The Charter—The College sued for the fine to the Queen for the Charter—Conveyance of the endowment to the Master and Fellows—Rebuses of Woodlark's and Ansty's names—The Founder's Statutes—Faculties other than Philosophy and Theology excluded—Appropriation of the church of Coton—Gift of Caunterbury's house—"Germany"—Dowsing and Caunterbury—Sales and purchases.

On June 28, 1475, Dr. Woodlark received, as Master and Founder of the College, from the executors of the will or wills of William Coote* and Clement Denston the sum of £40 towards finishing the Chapel and Library. Thus he received in all from Lady Joan Barnardiston and these two benefactors £106 13s. 4d., about one-third of the capital lost by the stoppage of the grants for King's.

The Charter of Edward IV. is dated August 16, 1475. By that time a third Fellow had been added, Mr. James Wylleborde, already mentioned as a Fellow Commoner at the opening of the College. Woodlark had collected his three Fellows from a wide area. Wylde was "by nation a Picard"; Wardall was "a native of Lincolnshire, of the town of Beylsbe"; Wylleborde was "by nation a Scot." This is the more remarkable because in Woodlark's own Statutes it was declared that the Fellows must always be of English origin. It would be unkind to all Picards and Scots to suggest that Woodlark's

* For good service to the King, William Coote had been in the receipt of a pension of £10 a year since 1540. (Cooper, Annals, i. 189.)

experience of Mr. Wylde and Mr. Wylleborde was the cause of the prohibition in the Statutes. It was not till 1622 that the College again had among its Fellows a Scot; in that year James I. forced one John Lothian upon the College by Royal Mandate. In 1691 another Scot was elected, John Bower, the Queen having granted a dispensation for the purpose. Another Scot once tried to be Master, but it came to nothing in the end.*

The Charter of King Edward IV. incorporated the Society; gave it perpetual succession; enabled it to hold lands in mortmain; authorised its government by Statutes to be made by Woodlark and his executors; gave it a common seal and all insignia of a college; entitled it to sue and be sued; bade it pray for the good estate of the King while he lived and for his soul after death. The limiting value of the lands to be held in mortmain was forty marks (£26 13s. 4d.) a year. The capital of the endowment may be put at about £620. The Charter was given at Westminster by the King himself, with authority of Parliament. The one witness was Edward, "Prince of Wales and Keeper or Guardian of England"; he was then about four years old, and had been created Guardian and locum tenens of the realm by Patent that same year. + His father, Edward IV., was in 1454 created, as Duke of York, Protector of the Realm and Church of England.

The fine to be paid for the grant of the Charter was £18 4s. 4d., not far off a year's income of the Master and three Fellows. It appears that in the course of the

^{*} See page 103.

[†] Rot. Pat., 15 Ed. IV. m. 8, p. 2.

[‡] On April 3, 1454, by patent.

next ten or eleven months the College managed to pay £16 7s. 8d. of this, leaving £1 16s. 8d. unpaid. first recorded privilege which the College enjoyed as the result of incorporation was to be distrained upon for this amount. The King issued on July 8, 1476, to the Sheriff of Cambridge his writ of fieri facias, directing him to enter upon and levy from the goods, chattels, lands and tenements of the Master and Fellows the sum of 36s. 8d., the remainder due to Queen Elizabeth out of the fine of £18 4s. 4d. to the Hanaper for the confirmation of the foundation of the College and the licence of mortmain for forty marks. The money must be paid to the Exchequer for the use of the Queen on the day after next Michaelmas Day. The licence to hold lands in mortmain has in natural course been from time to time extended as the property of the College has grown. Thus Henry VIII. gave in 1513 a licence for an additional £10 a year, and Edward VI. for an additional £20 in 1549. Both of these licences were "without fine or fee." Further licences have been required in the reigns of George III. and Queen Victoria.

This episode of a distraint arose directly out of the granting of the Charter, but its mention has interrupted the chronological order of our story. Next after the licence to hold property came, of course, the gift of the property by Woodlark to the now existent College. This was effected by lengthy deeds. Woodlark's Seal bears S. Robert, followed by a bird rising from trees, i.e., a lark and a wood. One John Ansty's bears S. Iohis, followed by a hand holding a branch: it is to be feared that this meant a hand and a stick, and that Hand-stick meant Ansty. In this connection it may be mentioned that Sir William Dugdale, in his

History of Warwickshire (page 603), describes a window in the north side of the Chancel of Waves-Wootton, a church in the gift of King's College, in which were the arms of Henry VI. and those of King's College, and underneath them this inscription, Orate pro bono statu Magistri Roberti Wode Præpositi Collegii Regalis Cantabrigie et Sociorum ejusdem qui istam Fenestram fieri fecerunt. This must mean Woodlark, and Cole (xiii. 9—11) naturally suggests that a small bird was painted in the glass after the word Wode, which Dugdale, not knowing the Provost's name, would not take to be part of the inscription. Another account states definitely that the bird was there.

It has been noted that the Charter of King Edward IV. gave power to Dr. Woodlark and his Executors to make Statutes for the government of the College. Accordingly, Woodlark made a body of Statutes, while Roche was still Master: this must have been done before the end of 1480, Roche's name not appearing after October 25 of that year. The College does not possess the original copy of the Statutes. The copy in the College Treasury is not finished, the capital letters at the beginning of the chapters being left blank. was evidently written when Wardall was Master, for in the list of Masters at the end the names of Woodlark, Roche, Tapton, and Wardall are written in the same hand as the Statutes, and all the succeeding names in other hands. Other considerations limit the possible date more closely; the copy was written between November 20, 1487, and October 14, 1504. was written, Woodlark himself was dead.

In one special respect the Statutes of the Founder are of great interest. He was very peremptory as to the studies and degrees of the Fellows. The Master was required to swear on his election that he would never allow any Fellow at any time to divert his studies to any faculty other than the faculties of philosophy and theology. And every Fellow must swear on election never to consent that any Fellow should study any other science or faculty, with a view to obtaining a degree, beyond those of philosophy and sacred theology. It is quite in accordance with these strict and exclusive conditions that, among the 137 volumes in the Library of the College (see Chap. IV.) given by the Founder, not one volume on the Civil or the Canon Law is included.

On May 25, 1476, six weeks before Edward IV. ssued the writ to distrain for the money due to the Queen, he granted to the College a Charter of Appropriation of the Church of Coton, on the condition that they should provide a suitable chaplain for the ministration of Sacraments and Sacramentals, and distribute yearly among the poor of the parish a certain portion to be determined by the Bishop. The Charter recites the specially interesting fact that the College possessed the one acre of land in the open field of Coton to which the advowson and patronage of the Church was attached. In 1349 John Engayne, a well-known man in Cambridgeshire, was patron of Cotes; as late as 1505 that form of the plural was retained, Richard Balderston being presented in that year to the church of Coton alias Cotes. In 1384 Nicolas Marrable, Rector of Coton, was bound to pay to the Vicar of Grantchester three pence for each parishioner buried. It will be seen later (1795) that the wording of the King's Charter in respect of the appointment of a

chaplain was pronounced to have an important validity.

Besides the two benefactions already recorded, while Woodlark was still Master, another benefaction, of considerable value, came in before his death. This was the gift of the house which those who remember Cambridge twenty years ago or more used to know as the house of Mr. Cory the grocer, projecting boldly into Trumpington Street on the north side of the Bull Inn. was given by Isabella Caunterbury, the Founder's sister, August 13, 1479. John Caunterbury, her deceased husband, had been clerk of the works at King's, and this was their residence. When King's College pulled the house down, there was still preserved in it some handsome woodwork of the later middle of the fifteenth century, especially a settle of Caunterbury's time, marked with his initials, and no doubt made by the workmen under his orders at King's. This gift of Caunterbury's house was in itself of importance, and it was made of still more importance by the fact that among the considerable property which came to the College from the founder, after the conveyance of the foundation land, was a large and important tenement behind it called Fordham's Place. On this latter site the secret meetings were held before the Reformation which caused it to be nicknamed "Germany," its real name having by that time been changed to "The White Horse." The relatively few Reformers at St. Catharine's had a safe entrance to it by a back way.* The

^{*} It was central for King's, Queens', Corpus, Pembroke, and Peterhouse, five of the seven Colleges which Strype (himself a Catharine man) says were most affected by the reformed doctrines. The other two were Caius and St. John's (Parker, 6). It was fairly convenient for Caius, too.

College most unfortunately sold these very important sites no long time after they came into possession. John Caunterbury and Isabella Woodlark, his wife, were buried in Bene't Church, for the famous Mr. Dowsing found there one 28th of December "seven superstitious pictures, fourteen cherubims, and two superstitious ingravings: one was to pray for the soul of John Caunterbury and his wife."

The money obtained from the sale of Caunterbury's house and Fordham Place, or a portion thereof, and from the benefactions, to be mentioned later, of Nelson, Pemberton, and Taylard, was put into land by the College. In 1513 an inventory of the estates was made, and besides all that has been mentioned (except Fordham Place and Caunterbury's house) and a good deal else that came from Woodlark after the conveyance of foundation property to the College, no less than sixteen purchases of lands and tenements are recorded: nine in 1507, three in 1508, one in 1509, one in 1510, and two in 1511. The parcels of land bought were not large, the most considerable being twenty acres. The whole of the sixteen purchases amounted to 92a. 3r., with four tenements, two messuages, two crofts, and a close.

CHAPTER IV

The Library—The Founder's conditions—The books given to the College by the Founder—Books in the Chapel, the gift of the Founder and others—Books given by Master Nelson, for the sole use of the three Fellows—Books given by Dr. Brian—Disappearance of all of these—Fellow Commoners' fees—Further gifts and prices—Dr. Sherlock—Dr. Jarrett.

THE Founder was extremely and properly strict in his provisions for the care of the Library. Every year there was to be a complete inspection of all the books in the Chapel and in the Library, so that it might be seen if any one book had been taken away, torn, or soiled. No book was ever to be sold, given, exchanged, pledged, or in any way, under any title or colour, alienated. No book was to be lent out in quires* to be copied. No book was to spend the night out of the College, except for binding or repairing, in which case it was to come back without delay as quickly as possible. The books chained in the Library and in the Chapel were not to be taken from those places to the rooms of the Fellows or anywhere else. The books not chained were for the daily use of the Fellows. The door of the Library was to have a secure lock, commonly called a clyket lok, of which each Fellow was to have a key. If any member of the society introduced a stranger, he must be personally responsible for his conduct. Copyists from the outside must never remain

^{*} Woodlark was dealing only with manuscripts, written on several quires or gatherings of parchment.

after sunset. If any Fellow worked in the Library by candlelight, he must take all care to avoid risks.

The College possesses a very valuable record of the books given by the Founder, with a few additions made before the end of the century. The bulk of the collection is described (in Latin) as

Books chained in the Library, the gift of Robert Woodlark, primary Founder of this College.

The list is printed in full in the quarto series of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1840, edited by Dr. Corrie. To almost all of the titles is added "cujus 2m fo.," followed by Latin words. This was done to identify the particular manuscript as compared with other MSS. of the same work, the words with which the second leaf began being quoted. It was not a complete identification, for two copies might have exactly the same amount of matter on the first leaf. In the case of one class of MSS. elsewhere, no less than four copies have the same opening words on the second folio. To save frequent repetition of the formula "cujus 2m fo.," it is omitted in the short list given below, the words with which the second leaf began being given in italic. The technical phrase for these first words of the second leaf is "dicta probatoria," "the testing words." They are found in most of the monastic catalogues which are known to be extant.

Next follows a list of

Books in the Chapel, the gift of the Founder and others.

Three manuscript missals.

One large Breviary without notes. sedendo.

Another ancient Breviary with notes. sque libera.

Another ancient Breviary, without cover, with notes. Deus.

Legends of the Saints, chained. et umbra.

A Breviary with Placebo and Dirige, chained. major.

A Primer with Placebo and Dirige. major.

A small Gradual with the Masses of St. Katrine and of St. Mary and of Requiem, bound in boards. Sum nata.

Another small Gradual, bound in parchment, with the same Masses. tat Domine Maria.

A Sequence with notes. quem fuit.

A Manual. cujus est.

History of St. Katrine, with notes, in three books.

Legends of St. Katrine, with history, without notes.

A Gradual given by Master John Leche. * forenses.

A Breviary with notes from the same donor. respondeantur.

A printed Breviary, chained, given by Master Hale. in nomine.

A small book of Synodals, chained, given by Master Garnet.† munita.

A printed Missal, given by Master Balston. ‡ manus.

This is followed by

Books given by Master Nelson with the intention that they shall always remain with the three Fellows (p. 37).

And

Books given by Dr. Brian.

It is a noticeable fact that the books given by Woodlark do not include any books on Canon Law or law of any kind. He gave no place to such studies in his College. As we have seen (Chapter III.), his foundation was to serve for the furtherance of the sciences and faculties of philosophy and theology and none other.

^{*} He gave also a standyne maser with a cover in 1511.

[†] Fellow; benefactor in 1526; he gave also a silver piceum of the value of four nobles.

[†] Ri. Balderston, M.C. 1506-7.

It is said by Dr. M. R. James, in a delightful preface to his analysis* of the sources whence the Parker MSS. at Corpus Christi came, that of this list of about 100 volumes in the Catharine Library not one is now known to exist. He credits the mischief of this wholesale disappearance, a feature by no means confined to the history of our little College, to the Commissioners appointed under Edward VI. to reform the University.

There are no records of receipt and expenditure on account of the Library before 1683. From that time to 1740 the only income was derived from a fee of £2 paid by each Fellow-Commoner on his admission.† Fifty-five Fellow-Commoners entered during that period, but only forty-seven fees are recorded. In some of the years before 1683 the Fellow-Commoners' fees would have formed a most useful allowance for the purchase of books; for instance, in the twenty years 1627 to 1646, eighty-six noblemen and Fellow-Commoners entered, and even if the nobleman's fee was not, as usual, double that of a Fellow-Commoner, £172 would have been received for the purchase of books in that time. After 1740 a rent of £5 a year is brought into the account, from certain lands of which we do not know for certain how they came into the possession of the College. There are reasons for believing that they were the gift of the then Master, Dr. Hubbard.

^{*} Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 8vo publications, No. xxxii. Cambridge, 1899.

⁺ This fee ceased to be paid by Fellow-Commoners in 1815. About that time many officers left the army and took Orders. So many came to St. Catharine's that it was known as the Church Militant. Forty years later, the officers of the army and navy who resided at St. Catharine's as Fellow-Commoners formed a very agreeable addition to the social life of the place.

There are from time to time notes in the College records of special gifts to the Library, one or two of which may be quoted as examples.

In 1703, Francis Tilney gave to the College Library "the King of Spain's Bible" in performance of a promise which he had made to Dr. Eachard in his lifetime.

In 1705, Francis Neale, of Bramfield, Suffolk, gave by will "a valuable collection of Books."

In 1718, John Addenbrooke, M.D., gave 184 books, a list of which is preserved in the parchment catalogue.

In 1728, Dr. Crosse, Master of the College, gave a new glass case, marked X, and furnished it with books.

It may be worth while to print a list of books purchased in 1730 with £21 which Mr. Halfhyde gave for the purpose. The prices are interesting:

	_	
Mead's Works	1 5	0
Prideaux, 4 vols.	1 0	0
Pearson on the Creed	9	0
Tillotson's Works, 3 vols.	28	0
Hammond on the New Testament	1 1	0
Kidder on the Messiah	18	0
Eachard's Ecclesiastical History	9	0
Barrow's Works, 2 vols.	2 0	0
Chillingworth	14	0
Burnet, 39 Articles	11	0
Hooker's Works	17	0
Fiddes's Body of Divinity, 2 vols.	1 16	0
Bingham's Works, 2 vols.	2 0	0
Whitby on the New Testament, 2 vols.	2 0	0
Bulli Opera	1 1	0
Limberchi Theol. Chr.	18	0
The Works of the Author of The Whole		
Duty of Man	16	0
Bull's Life and Sermons	18	0
	_	

Seven years later, the Rev. Thomas Bence, of Kelsall, in Suffolk, whom Hoadly succeeded in his Fellowship, gave £10 10s. for a like purpose. In that case there was a feast. The money was spent thus:

Calmet's Dictionary	5 10	0
Kuster's Greek Testament	1 7	0
Lewis's Hebrew Antiquity, 4 vols.	16	0
Stackhouse's Body of Divinity	1 10	0
Shuckford's Connection, 3 vols.	15	0
Laid out in an Entertainment by Mr.		
Bence's order	12	0

These sums amount to ten guineas.

We have, of course, other records of books given from time to time, and the library grew by such accretions; but all gifts were insignificant when compared with the gift by Dr. Sherlock of his library, which will be recorded in its due place. Another large gift came from Dr. Jarrett, and that also must find mention later on.

CHAPTER V

Conditions of early benefactions—William Bassett's foundation of a Fellowship, 1487—Richard Nelson's foundation of a Fellowship, 1503—Benefaction of the Pembertons, 1504—Various gifts—Dame Elizabeth Barnardiston— John and Joan Mylbourn's foundation of a Fellowship —Spiritual goods in return for worldly goods—Indications of the Reformation—Number of pre-Reformation and post-Reformation endowments—Licence to study beyond the sea—Attempts to enforce the foundation of Scholarships.

It will probably be interesting to some readers to know in detail the conditions of the early benefactions to the College. They show how very large a part in stimulating such benefactions was played by the desire to have prayers offered perpetually for the soul after the death of the body, and how careful the benefactors were to protect themselves after death against neglect of the conditions. Woodlark's own conditions for prayer for his welfare in life and for his soul after death are of the most detailed and complicated character; as expressed in his Statutes, they nearly fill three closely printed octavo pages. It will be sufficient to give the heads of the three deeds executed by the Master and Fellows in the case of the foundation of the first two Fellowships added to the College and of a large gift of 200 marks (£133 6s. 8d.). As an illustration of the strength of the feeling in respect of Masses for the dead, it may be mentioned that when the University desired to thank in the most fervent way their benefactor, Cardinal Wolsey, then at the height of his power, they assured

him of their purpose to appoint perpetual yearly obsequies for him. If that had been said to Wolsey's king, the obsequies of the sayer would soon have come due.

The first of the three deeds is dated November 20, 1487.

William Bassett, clerk, had given to John Wardall, Master, and the Fellows, a tenement in Babraham called le Tabert, with lands, &c. In return, they are to elect a Fellow in Priest's Orders to pray and celebrate for the souls of William his parents and his benefactors, at a stipend of £4 a year; they enrol him as a benefactor and make him partaker in their prayers and meritorious works; they are to keep his obit annually with mass of requiem and exsequies, for which the Master shall receive 12d. and each Fellow present 8d. And if they do not within eight weeks of a vacancy in the Fellowship appoint another Fellow, the Master and Fellows of Clare may take possession of the property and carry out the And if they in turn fail, then the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi may take the property and perform the conditions. The Fellow who receives the stipend shall preach or procure to be preached two sermons in which the people shall be urged to pray for the souls of William his parents and his benefactors, one in the chapel of St. Leonard at Glapthorn, county Northampton, on the Feast of St. Matthias, and the other in the church of St. Andrew, at Godirstoke, in the same county, on the Feast of St. Petronilla; and in order that the sermons may be made with the more diligence and fervour, he shall receive also 13s. 4d., or at least 10s., on this account.

The next deed is dated August 20, 1503. It records

that Richard Nelson, clerk, had given to John Wardall, Master, and the Fellows, for the use of the College, £100. He gave also to the Library three treatises of Thomas Aquinas for the special use of the Fellows. They bound themselves to accept as Fellow any one whom Richard should nominate, and after Richard's death to elect as Fellow, within three months after each vacancy, a native of Lonsdale, or, in default of such, a native of the neighbouring parts of the diocese of York, to pray and celebrate for the souls of Richard his parents and his benefactors, with a stipend of £4 a year paid quarterly. When Richard's death is known, they are to have a requiem mass with exsequies solemnly in choir, with singing. If they go a month beyond the three without electing, or are a month late with a quarterly payment, they are to pay five marks to John ffotchet, Master of St. Michael's, and the Fellows, besides paying the stipend overdue. If they go three months beyond the three, or are two months late with a quarterly payment, they are to pay to St. Michael's another ten marks besides the five and besides paying up the stipend. If they are nine months late in electing, they are to pay twenty marks besides the fifteen and the stipend, and are to hand over the £100 to St. Michael's: power is given to distrain on the College estates in case any of these penalties become due by neglect. Michael's House binds itself to William Tomlyn, clerk, the Master of the College or Hospital of St. John the Evangelist, under a penalty of £100, to expend the moneys received from St. Catharine's, viz. £100 and £4 and 35 marks, on such works of charity for Richard's soul, and his parents' and benefactors' souls, as are agreed upon by the Masters and Fellows of St.

Michael's, Clare, and St. John the Evangelist's. These were, indeed, onerous conditions, and no doubt the College felt itself very safe against the contingency of having to pay £127 6s. 8d. out of a gift of £100, besides paying up £3 of arrears.

The next deed has quaint variations of the conditions. It is dated October 14, 1504, and is the first beginning of the long connection of the College with London It records that Katharine Pemberton, merchants. widow, and Robert Pemberton, clerk, joint executors of the will of Hugh Pemberton, late citizen and alderman of London, had delivered to John Wardall, Master, and the Fellows of the College, 200 marks sterling (£133 6s. 8d.). It is an indenture tripartite, the parties being, besides the Master and Fellows, Geoffrey Blythe Master of the King's College and the Fellows thereof, and Thomas Howday Master of the Craft of the Merchant Tailors. The College is within three days of the date of the deed to have, so long as the world shall endure, a mass sung daily by one of the Fellows in the church or chapel of the College, or if any general sickness or death should fall in the University or town of Cambridge [it was no very unusual event in those times that residence was interrupted by this cause*], then in some other church or chapel during the same sickness and death. The mass was to be sung for the souls of Hugh, of all his children, of the fathers and mothers of Hugh

^{*} Even much later than this we find that the difficulties caused by plague were treated as insurmountable. Thus in 1642 a grace was passed for admitting the Bachelors of Arts by proxy "propter motum pestis," and more than forty were so admitted. Three years later, in 1645, the disturbed state of the country was similarly recognised, and fifteen were admitted by proxy "ob difficultates et pericula in itineribus faciendis,"

and Katharine, of all their benefactors, and for all Christian souls. The daily mass was to be intermitted on three days-Shere-Thursday, Good Friday, and Easter Even. Further, the College shall, so long as the world endure, cause a sermon to be preached every year on the Sunday on or next before the seventh of September in the church of St. Martin Ottewiche in Bishopsgate Ward, in which the people shall be exhorted to pray for the souls as above. The College shall also have an obit kept in the same church every seventh of September with a solemn dirige of nine lessons on the even, and on the morrow a solemn mass of requiem by note. At this obit the College shall distribute 15s. 5d.* to the persons officially present, including the cost of four tapers of wax, each weighing six pounds, and four candlesticks, including also to the Master of the Merchant Tailors 20d., to each of the Wardens 12d., to the clerk and beadle of the Company 8d. and 4d. The College is to pay to King's College 6s. 8d. for every mass omitted, and £5 for every sermon omitted, and £5 for every obit not kept. And if King's College does not demand these penalties, the Master, Wardens, and Fellowship of Merchant Tailors shall receive the same. given to both to distrain upon the College property for the fines for neglect of observance.

These are types of the conditions under which benefactions were made to the College. Under such conditions a considerable number of benefactions were accepted between the date of the last-mentioned deed and the Reformation. William Taylard, Esq., gave £100, primarily for building, in 1505. William Stokdall, Elizabeth Hermanson, Robert Sympson, and

^{*} Reported to or by Henry VIII.'s Commissioners as 15s. 10d.

Richard Abbot, gave tenements and lands to found a Fellowship in 1505. Richard Nelson founded a Bible-clerkship in 1506. Katharine Miles gave considerable property in 1509. John Leche gave money in 1514.

Dame Elizabeth Barnardiston gave 100 marks in 1514. This lady left an order that the Master and Fellows shall cause or make "an Epitaph in a scroll of paper or parchment to remain always in the Chapel upon the Altar or elsewhere reciting her foundation for wine, bread, and wax, for all her masses and orisons; also, to send every year on the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas a discreet and secular person, learned and graduate, to make a sermon in English in the chapel of St. Thomas in the parish of Ketton, remembering and praying for the souls of herself, her late husband Sir Thomas, and others; also to receive to dwell in College a child or scholar, conveniently learned in grammar, to be nominated by her, and after her death to be chosen for ever from her kin, or in default of her kin from Yorkshire or Lincolnshire, to be called 'the Butler' or 'my lady Barnardiston's child,' such child to attend always to minister all things necessary concerning the Buttery to Fellows, Suggeraunts, and Strangers, in the College, to have an allowance of meat and drink of the value of 6d. a week, and 6s. 8d. once a year for linen." Some of those who remember with affection and respect the simple dignity and friendly gravity of a late butler of the College may imagine the look which would have come on his face if he had been suddenly addressed as "my lady Barnardiston's child,"—or indeed if it had been proposed to set a limit of sixpence a week for his meat and drink.

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John Mylbourn and Joan his wife founded a Fellowship in 1515, other parties to the deed being John, Bishop of Calipolen, Master of the house of St. Thomas of Acon in Westcheap, and the Master and Wardens of the Fellowship or Mystery of Drapers (see page 43). Thomas Grene, clerk, gave in 1518 ten pounds to build four additional chambers. Lupsett gave in 1524, in accordance with her husband Thomas's will, ten pounds towards the building, but she only obtained a bond for an annual requiem mass for the next twenty years—i.e. till 1544, a fairly close but entirely unintentional calculation of the time of ceasing from masses of requiem: the Master and Fellows gave it with votive and jocund minds, as a recompense to Alice for her worldly goods out of their spiritual goods. Hugh Garnett, clerk, gave in 1526 lands and messuages, in recompense for which the College bound itself to an annual obit with exsequies and mass according to the laudable custom of the Church of England, Ecclesiae Anglicanae, a striking addition to the usual formula, considering that it was made in the year preceding Henry's appeal to the Pope, which resulted both in the abolition of requiem masses and in the fully-restored independence of the Ecclesia Anglicana. Robert Symson, clerk, gave in 1531 eight pounds to provide eight shillings a year for fuel to be burned in the Hall or Parlour, in aula sive parlura, in recompense for which the College granted out of its spiritual goods that on all statutable occasions of keeping disputations in the Chapel, or problems, they would say the Psalm de profundis with the accustomed suffrages, for the souls of Robert his parents and his benefactors.

It will have been seen that the College professed to grant out of its spiritual goods a recompense for the worldly goods given to it. The variation of claim from that put forth in its earliest years is rather remarkable. We have mentioned under June 28, 1475, and August 13, 1479, two benefactions to the College, in reference to which the College spoke as follows: "We have carefully considered if by any means we can do anything worthy of so great a favour. It is not in our power to make a full return, but we can in part make repayment from our spiritual goods. Accordingly we undertake to keep an obit-day," &c. That studiously and anxiously modest and moderate form was not used in the later deeds.

After the last-mentioned documents the College Treasury contains evidences of the great changes made and impending. On December 20, 1538, the Church Wardens of St. Clement's, taking time by the forelock, sold to the College the quit-rent of 8s. a year payable to the Chantry in St. Clement's; the price paid was £6 13s. 4d., less than seventeen years' purchase; the seventeen years would have brought them to the reaction under Mary. On March 4, 1542, Edward Elrington, Esquire, of London, conveyed to the College the Rectory, the advowson of the Vicarage, the glebe lands, &c., of Ridgwell, granted to him by Henry VIII. October 28, 1539, part of the possessions of the late Abbess and Convent of Denny*; the price paid by the College was £130. On September 26, 1544, the deed connected with John and Joan Mylbourn's Fellow-

^{*} This convent, of which there are some striking remains near Cambridge, had been well reported of, unlike St. Rhadegund's. The Society of Pembroke Hall was closely connected with it.

ship was found to need much alteration. Mylbourn had become Sir John and had died; but the important fact was that the College of St. Thomas of Acon had been dissolved, and the Mercers Company had bought the church. An indenture tripartite was therefore made between the College, the Mercers Company, and the Drapers Company, binding the College to cause one of their Fellows to preach a sermon once a year in the said church, called then the Mercers Church in Cheapside. The day was altered to Good Friday; the College was to pay the Fellow 6s. 8d. for his costs of travelling; the penalties for default, payable to the Drapers Company, were retained. sermon is still provided by the College; the payment has been raised to £2 2s. 0d.

Against seventeen pre-Reformation benefactions there are to be set seventeen in post-Reformation times, some of them of much larger amounts, and all given for the sake of learning, with no eye to the special benefit of the individual donor.

In 1537, Edward Moore, Fellow of the College and Priest of the Chantry of William Myles in the College, obtained leave from the College to be a student beyond the sea, where it shall seem to him most profitable for his learning, licence of the King's grace first obtained, for three years or four at most. The Master and Fellows undertook to pay during his absence to his assigns the yearly profits of his Fellowship and Chantry, and to procure one of the rest of the Fellows to have the name of the Chantry Priest and to say the usual masses yearly in his stead. This was very handsome treatment. It shows a laudable desire to encourage young men to open their minds by seeing something of

the world before they finally settle down to College work. When we come to inspect the lists of College plate, we shall find in the earliest list, exactly one hundred years after the date of this licence, "Mr. Moore's beaker." It is pleasant to hope that this beaker commemorated Edward Moore's gratitude to the College: it would be still more pleasant to have the beaker now.

There had long been a feeling that provision ought to be made from superabundant ecclesiastical endowments for the maintenance of scholars at the University. Thus in 1437 the King addressed a letter to the Archbishop and Bishops of the southern province, stating that the number of students at the Universities was greatly diminished in consequence of the want of reward for literary merit, and urging them to make provision from the patrimony of the Church. In 1536 Lord Cromwell* required every parson who had £100 a year from benefices to maintain one scholar, and another for each additional £100 a year. When we consider that the whole net revenue of St. Catharine's eight years later was only £55 18s. 6d., we may realise the magnitude of ecclesiastical incomes and the lightness of this tax of one Scholarship for each £100. The same order was issued by Edward VI. in 1547, and clenched in 1549 by one of Latimer's sermons before the King. In 1550, at Paul's Cross, a strong sermon was preached in the same sense, bitterly complaining that all the spoliation of monastic and Church property had only enriched laymen, had not fed the poor or encouraged learning.

^{*} Created Baron Cromwell in July of that year.

CHAPTER VI

Small endowments of the College—Early success—The first six Masters after Woodlark (1475-1547)—The first thirty Fellows of the College—John Bradford the Martyr—Some benefactors—The de Burghs and La Warrs—The Barnardistons—Alice Lupsett and Erasmus—Gifts of vestments, &c. for the Chapel.

It is not to be expected that so very small and poor a foundation should begin at once to produce important Every College in the University had larger revenues, not only absolutely but also in relation to its size, and had greater attractions. The smallness of our means is brought into prominence whenever lists are given of the incomes or assessments or responsibilities of the Colleges. We have four opportunities of testing this in the reign of Henry VIII. The first of these is the Valor Ecclesiasticus (1534), where St. Catharine's appears with an income of £39 2s. 71d., the next smallest income being that of Trinity Hall, with £72 0s. 10d. Barnwell Priory was worth more than six times as much as St. Catharine's. The second opportunity occurs in Cromwell's injunctions of the next year (1535), requiring Colleges to found Lectureships in Greek and Latin. Fourteen Colleges were held to be able to respond; St. Catharine's alone was not.* Again, in the assessment for ten soldiers (1541),

^{*} This number of fifteen Colleges is explained by the fact that Michaelhouse and King's Hall were still Colleges with separate existence, and Trinity, Emmanuel, Sidney Sussex, and Downing had not been created.

the College paid only 10s., no other College paying less than 24s. The fourth case is described in Chapter VII., where it will be seen that the only College with so small an income as St. Catharine's was Magdalene. Similar evidence is continually appearing. In 1575 the Colleges agreed with the Town that they would keep up a supply of means for extinguishing fires. St. Catharine's and Magdalene were the only Colleges from which only two buckets were expected; all others had to provide four, five, or eight. In 1686, the College paid by assessment to the poor £1 12s., and no other College less than £4 5s. 4d.

At the same time it is worthy of note, both as showing the much greater interchange of members among the Colleges than there has now for a long time been, and as showing the considerable importance of so small a foundation within so short a period of its earliest life, that of the seven Fellows entered successively on the list of Fellows as elected from about 1502 to 1518, no less than three became Masters of other Colleges: Edmund Nateres, of Clare, in 1513; William Capon, of Jesus College, in 1516; and Robert Swinburne, of Pembroke, in 1537.

Of the twenty-six Masters, other than Woodlark, to the present time (June 1902), thirteen have been Fellows of the College and thirteen have not. The six Masters who have been elected since the annexation of the Canonry of Norwich (see Chapter XVIII.) have all been chosen from among the Fellows. Six of the Masters have become Bishops, and two of the six became Archbishops. Of the Masters who covered the hundred years 1626–1719, volumes might be written.

It will be convenient here to deal briefly with the

six Masters who succeeded Woodlark the first Master. We know very little about five of them.

II. The first of the six was Richard Roche (1475-1480), born at Taunton, in Somersetshire. He was a Fellow of King's College, admitted on the day when Millington was deposed from the office of Provost. His brother Thomas was admitted Fellow of King's four years later. He has been confused with Robert Roche, who was Prior of the Charterhouse in 1492, the next Prior's appointment (William Tynbigh) being in 1499: this Roche is also called Rock in the Carthusian records. Cole extracts from the Ely Register of Bishop Grey the ordination of one Richard Roche as Subdeacon in 1457, by William, Bishop of Dunkeld, Suffragan to Bishop Grey, and his admission in 1473, when he had become D.D., to the Rectory of Little Shelford, near Cambridge, in the presentation of William Frevyle. This was very probably our Master. In any case, he was never a Fellow of St. Catharine's, and he was not the Prior of the Charterhouse.

III. John Tapton (1480-87), a Rutland man, was not a Fellow of the College. He was only of the degree of Master of Arts, the Statutes making a degree in Divinity an essential condition for the Mastership. He was appointed, however, by Woodlark himself, and the Founder had the power of dispensing with the Statutes during his lifetime. He was presented to the Prebend of Sleaford (Lincoln) in 1460; to the Deanery of St. Asaph in 1463 by the King, the temporalities of the See being then in the King's hands (Thomas Knight, Bishop of St. Asaph, who succeeded the famous Pecock, was deprived for treason by Edward IV. in 1463); to a Prebend of York in 1467;

to the Prebend of Liddington (Lincoln) in 1469, which he quitted in 1485, reserving a pension of £20 a year out of it, a practice which Dean Colet so strongly condemned; and to a Prebend in St. Paul's in 1471. We do not know when he died.

IV. Of John Wardall (1487-1506) we know almost nothing. He was a native of Beelsby in Lincolnshire, and was one of the two original Fellows of the College who entered into commons on the day after St. Catharine's Day 1473 (November 26). He was admitted Master before November 20, 1487, was Master October 26, 1505, and was not Master on July 7, 1506. The Layer Breton title deeds show that on that day the Master was

V. Richard Balderston (variously spelled) (1506-7). He was a Fellow of the College, a native of Gisburne in Yorks, eleventh on the list of Fellows. He served the office of Proctor* in 1501, and was Vicar of Campsall, Yorks, and Rector of Coton in 1505. We have among the College writings a parchment notice of "a chalice pawned to Richard Balderstone, President of St. Catharine Hall, for Five pounds by the Prioress of Swaffham Bulbeck" on April 3, 1505, and in November of the same year land at Babraham was conveyed to him for the College. He died Rector of Coton, and his successor at Coton was appointed in June 1507, before which date therefore he was dead.

VI. Thomas Grene or Green (1507-29), a native of Cockermouth, was not a Fellow of the College. He

^{*} This is the earliest evidence that the new College had been admitted by the University to the constitutional position of a College. See p. 21.

served the office of Vice-Chancellor in 1523*; and in 1514 he had taken part in settling the cycle for the appointment of Proctors, which gave to his College four turns in each forty-four years.

VII. Reginald Bainbrigge (1529-47) was a native of Middleton in Westmorland. He was a Fellow of the College, and proceeded to B.D. in 1526, but not to D.D. He served the office of Proctor in 1516. He was one of the leading men in the University at a time of great political disquiet, when men of discretion were greatly needed. As will be seen from his dates, he held the Mastership through all the most critical storms of the reign of Henry VIII., and only resigned the office in the early part of Edward's reign. He was one of the seven leading men appointed in 1535 to write a very difficult letter to the King for the election of a new Chancellor, the King having just cut off the head of the Chancellor, Bishop Fisher. With great impartiality, the King proceeded in five years to cut off the head of the next Chancellor, Thomas Cromwell. Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth continued the custom, in the cases of Somerset, Northumberland, and Essex. He was alive in 1549, for we find that in that year he assigned to the Master (Sandys) and Fellows the College property of the Rectory of Ridgwell, which had before stood in his name only; he is said to have died early in Mary's reign. He had a fair number of ecclesiastical appointments. He was Rector of Downham, Essex, 1525-30, and of Stambourne, Essex, 1526-30; Vicar of Bricklesea, Essex, 1530, and of Steeple Bumpsted, Essex, 1533; Prebendary of Wells, 1537; Rector of

^{*} This, as we have seen, is the first case of a Master of the College serving the office of Vice-Chancellor.

Great Oakley, Essex, 1538. Each of these he held for a shorter or longer term along with his Mastership.

The lists of Fellows of the College during the time of these seven Masters contain about thirty names. Of these thirty, eight were from Yorkshire, five from Westmorland, two from Lancashire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire and Northumberland, one from seven other counties, Picardy, and Scotland. Three, as we have seen, became Masters of the College, and three became Masters of other Colleges.

The eighth on the list is Walter Redman, of Westmorland, the brother presumably of Richard Redman, who was born at Levens in that county, and son of Sir Richard Redman and Elizabeth Aldburgh his wife. Richard was Abbot of Shap and Bishop of St. Asaph, Exeter, and Ely. Though the dates are not clear, we may certainly connect the two facts that John Tapton, the Master of the College, was Dean of St. Asaph, and Richard Redman was Bishop there.

The fourteenth on the list is Hugo Garnet, of Lonsdale in Lancashire. He was a Fellow in 1509 and was dead in 1526. He is the first Fellow who is recorded as a benefactor. His gifts comprised his lands, messuages, and moveable goods in Coton and elsewhere, a book for the Chapel, a silver piceum (piece of plate) of the value of four nobles (13s. 4d., evidently a handsome piece) and 40s. in money. He was the prompt first-fruits of the Fellowship founded in 1503 by Richard Nelson, with preference to natives of Lonsdale.

Next on the list to him is William Capon, of Saltcott in Essex, probably the most important man of the thirty: B.A. 1499; Proctor, 1509; Rector of Great

Shelford, 1516; Master of Jesus College, 1516; D.D. 1517. He was Chaplain to Wolsey, and became the first Dean of Ipswich; Vicar of Barkway, Herts, 1528–1534; Prebendary of Wells, 1537; Archdeacon of Anglesey, 1537; Rector of Duxford St. Peter, 1543; and Prebendary of Llanvair, Bangor. In 1546 he resigned the Mastership of Jesus and died in 1550. His preferment to the far-off Archdeaconry of Anglesey is no doubt due to the fact that his brother John Capon, more usually called Salcot, from the place of his birth, the Abbot of Hulme and Hyde, became Bishop of Bangor in 1534, moving on to Salisbury in 1537.

Third after Capon comes Edmund Nateres, of Richmondshire: B.A. 1500; M.A. by Special Grace, 1502; Proctor, 1506; Master of Clare, 1513-30. He was Vice-Chancellor in 1518, 1519, 1521, and 1526. Evidently our little College provided the University with a very valuable man in Nateres. He became Rector of Weston Colville and of Middleton-on-Tees, and died in 1549, leaving money for an annual sermon at Weston Colville.

He presided at the trial of Dr. Robert Barnes, Prior of the Austin Friars in Cambridge, for a Protestant sermon preached at St. Edward's, when he told the accused that if he did not take care he must needs die. Dr. Barnes escaped on that occasion, but was burned some time after on Parliamentary attainder. This fact, and the notice of Tylson below, may be taken as indications of the general attitude of the official members of the College at the early stages of the Reformation. It will be seen, further, from the list given by Strype, quoted on page 27, that St. Catharine's was not among the Colleges credited with affection for the new views.

Strype would not have omitted his own College if he could possibly have put it in.

Third after Nateres comes Robert Swinburne, of Newerton in Northumberland. He was Proctor in 1529. He took an interest in the strained relations between the Town and the University, and was appointed with the Vice-Chancellor and one other to answer the Town. The answer was so far satisfactory that "they departed and dranke together at the Pompe Tavern and the University paid for all."

In 1525 he was Myles's Chantry Priest in St. Catharine's. In 1534 he became Master of Pembroke; resigned the Mastership in 1537 for the Rectory of Tilney; and died in 1540, leaving a legacy to the Pembroke Library.

The third after him again is Ninian Shaftoo, a Northumbrian. He was one of the first admitted Fellows of the Lady Margaret's foundation of St. John's, July 29, 1516, being then B.A.

Next to him is Roger Tylson, of Pinchbeck in Lincolnshire. He was one of the twelve Cambridge men (Latymer among them) appointed in obedience to Henry VIII.'s mandate of 1530 to meet twelve Oxford men, to examine English books with pestiferous doctrine.

The last of our number is James Wilson, of Kendal in Westmorland. He became Rector of Coton, and was deprived under Queen Mary in 1554.

The martyr, John Bradford, was a scholar of the College. He had been deputy paymaster of the forces in France in 1544, and in that capacity was concerned with his chief, Sir John Harington, in some transaction which would not bear the light. A sermon of Latimer's moved his conscience; he made restitution, sold his

jewels and gave the proceeds to the poor, and began to study divinity. In 1548 he entered at St. Catharine's, being then about thirty-eight years of age; Edwin Sandys had been Master for one year. After a year's residence, he received by Special Grace the degree of Master of Arts, on the ground of eight years diligent study of literature, arts, and holy scripture, mature age and approved life, knowledge and godly conversation. This comes very near to the most recent invention of the University with regard to a new class of "advanced A month later he was made Fellow of Pembroke, and to that College his later life belongs. Archbishop Whitgift was one of his pupils, and Bucer was an intimate friend. Bishop Ridley ordained him, at the age of forty, made him his chaplain, and thanked God he ever had such an one in his house. In 1551 he was made a Prebendary of St. Paul's, and 1552 Chaplain in Ordinary to the King. Very soon after Queen Mary's accession he was brought before the Privy Council and committed to the Tower, where his companion was his late Master, Sandys; half a year after, he was put into the room where Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were confined. He left an account of his three examinations before Gardiner, Bonner, and others. The authorities put off his execution for nearly a year and a half, but at last they burned him at Smithfield, on Monday, July 1, 1555, extraordinary precautions being taken. The account of his death is singularly beautiful, in close accordance with all the features of his life from the day on which Latimer's sermon fired his conscience. His writings occupy two volumes of the Parker Society's Publications. His portrait in the Hall of Pembroke is well known, but is not contemporary; they have an

older portrait in the Cheetham Library of his native city, Manchester.

The benefactors of this period are numerous. The principal benefactions have been described or referred to in previous chapters.

The Founder enjoined in his Statutes that the souls of the following be specially commended on his obit-day: King Henry VI.; Richard Woodlark and Johanna his wife, the Founder's parents; Lady Elizabeth de Burgh and Thomas, late Lord la War, benefactors of the Hall; and Master William Coote and Master Clement Denston. The last section of his Statutes orders the maintenance of a Chantry Priest to pray and celebrate for the soul of Dame Johanna de Barnston. It will be observed that the Lancastrian Founder has nothing to say about King Edward IV., in spite of the injunction of the Royal Charter.

We have not in the College documents any explanation of the indebtedness of the College, or of the Founder, to Thomas late Lord la Warr and Lady Elizabeth de Burgh. But the connection of the former with the Founder is clearly ascertainable, and, as will be seen, it probably includes the connection with the latter. There were in Woodlark's lifetime two Lords la Warr (or, less usually at that date, de la Warr) One of these, the eighth Baron, called Thomas. succeeded to the title in the year after the Charter of the College, 1476; but he lived till 1525, and so cannot be the "late Lord la Warr" of Woodlark's Statutes. He was a priest The other was the fifth Baron. (whence his summons to Parliament ran Magistro Thomæ De La Warr), and was Rector of the church of Manchester. It was by his request to King Henry V.

that Manchester was made a collegiate church in 1421, Thomas being Lord of the Manor as well as Rector of the church. He died in 1426. The wills of the second and third Lords, grandfather and father of this Thomas, were dated at Wakerley in Northamptonshire, the birthplace of Woodlark. Thus we may regard it as practically certain that "Thomas, late Lord la Warr," helped Woodlark when he was a little boy, and thus was his earliest patron. Woodlark was probably at least twenty-three years old in 1441 (see page 2), and so was at least eight when Thomas died. The fact that Thomas had made the church of Manchester collegiate may well have been impressed upon the young boy's mind after his early patron's death; and the seed thus sown in all probability grew into the fixed desire to found a College for the advancement of learning.

Thomas's grandfather had obtained the Manor of Manchester with his wife Joan, whose mother, Hawise de Burgh, was coheiress of John de Burgh, Lord of the Manor of Manchester. There was thus a blood relationship between the la Warrs and this line of the de Burghs, and Lady Elizabeth may be accounted for in this way.

The connection of the College with the family of Barnardiston, of Ketton or Keddington in Suffolk, which began with the first building of the College, continued in force for many generations. The twenty-fourth Knight of the family, Sir Thomas, took part in the rebuilding of the College two hundred years after his ancestress, Dame Joan, took part in the original building.

In the generation next after Dame Joan, Dame

Elizabeth Barnardiston gave (1514) 100 marcs towards the purchase of a manor called Mawdeberis in Coton. She was a famous lady, daughter of Roger Newport, of Pelham, Herts. Her husband and she had seven sons and seven daughters; they were put in a window in Ketton Church, each with coat-armour on the breast, and the seven children of his or her sex behind. The great tomb in the church contains her body, and has on it a full-sized effigy of the husband and wife, Sir Thomas in complete armour. Their seventh male descendant, our later benefactor Sir Thomas, was made a Baronet, as also his younger brother Samuel. The present Barnardistons of the Ryes descend from a cadet, Thomas, in the time of James I., and have a direct descent for more than thirty generations.

Our entries only begin, in any regular manner, in 1627. A Barnardiston appears in 1632, Mr. Thomas, of Suffolk, F.C.* In 1637, Robert, of Bedfordshire, F.C. In 1640, Giles, of Suffolk, P. In 1663, Thomas, F.C. In 1667, George, P. From that time they appear to have left us. Giles Barnardiston and James Beversham had entered the College together in 1640, both of them Suffolk men. It is quite possible that the scandal of the next generation of Bevershams, in 1680 (see pages 133, 4), may have given their neighbours the Barnardistons a dislike to the College.

In 1524, Thomas Lupsett, goldsmith, of London, gave, as has already been stated (see page 41), £10 towards building, repairing and maintaining the College. The Lupsetts were very interesting people, great friends of Erasmus. It is not improbable that Erasmus, who must have marked from his little tower in Queens' the

^{*} F.C., Fellow-Commoner; P., Pensioner; S., Sizar.

struggles of his opposite neighbour St. Catharine's, named the needs of the College to his wealthy friends, when he was not engaged in his accustomed work of begging for himself. Thomas gave this money by will, and his widow Alice paid it to the College. They had a son Thomas, who succeeded Clement the successor of Linacre. Colet sent him to St. Paul's School and thence to Pembroke. He was a friend of More, Pole, Linacre, and others of great repute, but he died early in 1530, at the age of about thirty-two. Erasmus mentions his death in a letter to Pole. In 1520, when he was about twenty-two, Erasmus wrote to him from Bruges, making special mention of his mother Alice, and his father, our benefactors,—"For your most excellent mother, a ready and toward skill of speech, fighting alone the battle of her own tongue against so many long-tongued monstrosities. Had I but ten as doughty champions to do my fighting for me, then were I free to sleep at ease. Well worthy do I deem her of youth renewed. For your most excellent father, my best wishes."

The last two benefactions to be named before the Reformation were eloquent of their period. Dr. Middleton, Rector of Balsham, gave a diaper cloth and twelve napkins, and "two corporax casys, one of weluet a nother of pastre"; and John Hosyer, mercer, name trade and gift strictly cognate, gave to the Chapel a set of vestments. Our latest undertaking to say Masses for a benefactor dates in the year 1537; it was in return for the fuel for the Hall fire.

CHAPTER VII

A dispute about the Proctorship—Violence of Edwin Sandys and Mr. Comberforth—Danger of the Colleges under the Act 37 Hen. 8, c. 4—Report to Henry VIII. of income and expenditure of the Colleges—The King's favourable treatment—Small revenue of St. Catharine's—Cost of obit-days—Commission of Edward VI.—Alterations in the Statutes.

A DISPUTE about the Proctorship occurred in 1542, in which the College was primarily concerned. According to the composition of August 11, 1514, the right of nomination of Proctors for 1542-43 was with Pembroke and St. Catharine's. They nominated Mr. Briggs and Mr. Haggerstone respectively. Haggerstone was a Fellow of St. Catharine's, a Northumbrian. He resigned his claim to the Proctorship, and did not present himself for election by the Senate. It was stated that Mr. Edwin Sandys, a Fellow of St. John's, who wished to obtain the office for himself, had given Haggerstone four marks in money (£2 13s. 4d.) to induce him to resign. There was a special Statute against such bribes.

Failing the College nominee, Mr. Sandys and Mr. Matthew Stokys became candidates for the office. Sandys was elected; but Stokys' friends disputed the election, and appealed to the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Richard Standish. He determined that Sandys had canvassed for the office, and therefore had violated the composition. The votes given for him were therefore null, and the Vice-Chancellor declared that Stokys was elected; but, inasmuch as Mr. Cheke and Mr. Sandys

had brought charges against Mr. Stokys, his admission to the office must be deferred till the truth was ascertained.

The Vice-Chancellor subsequently consented to an appeal by Sandys and Stokys to the Chancellor of the University, Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Dr. Thirlby, Bishop of Westminster, each appellant being bound in £20 to accept their decision. The office of Proctor for the year was served by Simon Briggs and Edwin Sandys.

A riot occurred in the Assembly House in connection with this matter, November 12, 1542. At the moment when Dr. Glyn, the deputy Vice-Chancellor, was sitting in his chair and dissolving the congregation, one Mr. Richard Cumberforth, Fellow of St. John's, M.A. 1528, probably a Staffordshire man, laid violent hands on him. The Vice-Chancellor commenced proceedings against him, and after vainly citing him to appear, pronounced him contumacious, and suspended him from his M.A. degree until the Chancellor should restore him. John Blyth, M.D., and Richard Swayne, M.A., had aided and abetted Cumberforth; they were suspended from voting in the Senate till the following Christmas.

Richard Cumberforth had distinguished himself in a similar manner on a former occasion. The details are much like those of the Sandys and Stokys dispute; indeed it is rather difficult to avoid the conclusion that the event, referred to as an attempt to elect a new Vice-Chancellor, is really this same disturbance about the election of Sandys. If it is not so, we are dealing with very turbulent persons.

The story introduces two of our Catharine men in a

strange manner. Dr. Glyn was the victim on each occasion, and he testified that "Mr. Cwnerforth dyde laye violent handes upon the sete where I satt and Mr. Perne dyde pull me bakwarde by the hwde," and if Dr. Malet had proceeded to election on the previous Saturday "he hade beyn servyde as I was and Stokes had been throwne down the stares, they had provyded wepyns and armur soo to do." "Mr. Bambryck [this was, no doubt, not the Master of St. Catharine's, Reginald Bainbrigge, but his brother Geoffrey, a Fellow of the College] sayd at dinner the same daye or upon the munday or tuysdaye or at the lestwayes this wek last past, 'I love Mr. Comerforth better than any regent in this towne for his doynges, and yf he had gevyn D. Glyn a blow or tow he had servyd him well.' 'Yf hit had cum to that poynt,' sayes Sandes, then being present, 'we had shearpyd our dagers and evrey man had marked wher he wold be, and for my parte I wold have beyn yn D. Harvie,' or lyk communication." We shall see, when we come to Queen Mary's time, that Sandys was very ready with his "dager," in time of actual danger; but this cold-blooded selection of the worthy Dr. Harvey as the one he would be "yn" with his weapon gives one the idea of almost abnormal truculence of character.*

In 1545 the Act 37 Hen. 8, c. 4, empowering the King to order, alter, change, and reform all Colleges, Hospitals, Charities, &c., within his dominions, brought the Colleges of the Universities into peril, although, as in the Act of Edward VI. in which like danger was seen, "Colleges" referred rather to Collegiate Churches

^{*} It is a quaint illustration of the abiding character of Sandys' disposition, that Neal, in his *History of the Puritans* (i. 389), speaks of him thus: "Sandys, Archbishop of York . . . was a severe Governor, hasty and passionate."

and a large number of other institutions quite different from the Colleges of the Universities, and it is not impossible that the Cambridge and Oxford Colleges were not in the first instance aimed at by the Act. The Cambridge authorities saw the danger, and asked the King to appoint some of them to report to him on the receipts and expenditure of the several Colleges. The King issued a commission, January 16, 1546, to Parker (Corp.) the Vice-Chancellor, Redman (Mich. Ho.) and Maye (Qu.). They prepared a full Report, and took a summary of it to the King at Hampton Court. He "diligently perused" it, and disappointed the "hungry wolves" among the courtiers by saying that he had not known there were so many persons in the realm so honestly maintained on so little land and rent. But he pertinently asked how it was that all of the fifteen Colleges then existing, except Magdalene, spent more than they received. The reply was that the deficiency was met by renewal fees and wood sales.* The Colleges were saved. Parker's account of the interview is very creditable to the King, though he was then very near his end, and the popular idea of him at that period of his life is exceedingly unfavourable.

"Katharine Hall" had the smallest income except Magdalene, and these two paid the smallest stipend to their Fellows, £4 apiece. The Master of Magdalene had £8 a year, the Master of Katharine £5. The summary presented to the King was as follows:

St. KATHARINE'S HALL.

"The Master's stipend, £5. Six Fellows, £24. One Bible-clerk, £1 14s. 4d. Cook, £2 12s. 8d. Laundress,

^{*} Some facts in connection with supplementary receipts will be found on pages 188, 9.

8s. Exhibition of one of the Fellows, £4. Butler, £1 12s. 8d. Alms, 13s. 4d. Exequies and refections, £5 16s. 8d. Sermons, £1 13s. 4d. Expences of the Chapel, 13s. 4d. Fee of the Collector, £2. Extraordinary Expences, £2. Repairs, £8. Total, £59 14s. 6d.; according to modern arithmetic, £59 14s. 4d. The total of the clear revenues was given as £55 18s. 6d., and thus the expences exceeded the revenues by £3 16s. 0d., actually by £3 15s. 10d.

The clear revenue of all the Colleges then existing was given as £3543 2s. $10\frac{1}{2}d$., and the annual excess of expenses over revenue as £396 14s. 2d. The King might well ask on the face of it how they made ends meet. The charges for obit-days, it will be seen, were not nonsiderable; with the payments for sermons they came to more than half as much again in each year as a Fellow's stipend.

On November 12, 1548, King Edward VI. issued a Commission for the Visitation of the University and Colleges. The Commissioners finished their visitation at King's College in the afternoon of Saturday, May 18, "and from thence with half an hour's warning went unto St. Catharine's Hall and made an end there before supper, and put them to no more cost but their bever and supped every one at home."

On July 3, 1549,

"they called before them all the Masters, Presidents, and Doctors of every house and read unto them the Statutes and ordinances of every house and delivered bills to every Master of the Fellows and Scholars to be placed."

The next day the Visitation was completed.

* Four o'clock beer, corresponding to the morning "elevens." Old French, bever, for boire. This intercalary drink retains its old name in the harvest-field in Suffolk and elsewhere.

We have no note of the "bill," if any, presented to the Master, Edwin Sandes, for the displacement and replacement of Fellows and Scholars, nor are there any books in existence which show—as our books do at the Commonwealth Visitation—which of the Fellows, if any, were put out of commons. The Statutes given to the College are in the Treasury, and it is well to see what were the main changes thought necessary at that time of transition and of great unrest; the Statutes for St. Catharine's are signed by T. Ely, Nic. Roffen, Joan. Cheek, Gulielmus Mey.

Instead of the condition that Fellows must at their election be Priests, or if below Holy Orders must have been admitted to all the lesser orders [sub-deacon, acolyte, &c.], it was ordered that so far as was convenient only Priests or Deacons should be elected, and that in any case there must be at least two Priests and one Deacon among the Fellows. This involved a sliding arrangement in case laymen had been elected and the number of clerical Fellows came below three, and out of this, of course, complications and trouble came in time.

The Fellows' oath of obedience to the Master was originally "in mandatis canonicis et aliis licitis et honestis," in his canonical commands and other lawful and honest things (or commands). It was altered to "in things which pertain to his office and the Statutes of the College." It is not improbable that Woodlark's original wording has some bearing upon the still existent form of oath of obedience to a Bishop,—"I will pay true and canonical obedience to the Lord Bishop of so-and-so in all things lawful and honest." "Canonical" had probably a similar force in the two oaths, and meant the same thing as "regular" or "normal."

Another part of the Fellows' oath was likewise omitted, that which bound him not to apply for nor use any dispensation from his oath or from the Statutes. Here again we get a useful sidelight upon more than one modern controversy. The omission of prohibition did not mean in this case that the Fellows were free to apply for dispensations from their oath; it meant, no doubt, that, inasmuch as dispensations foreign to the College could no longer be obtained, it was no longer necessary to forbid them.

Under Woodlark's Statutes a Fellow vacated his Fellowship si religionem intraverit, if he became a member of one of the Monastic Orders. This was omitted, again not because he would not forfeit his Fellowship if he did, but because the Orders themselves were now illegal. Again, a Fellow could, under Woodlark's Statutes, hold with his Fellowship a libera capella, a free chapel, but not a benefice. Under Edward's Statutes he could not hold any benefice with cure of souls, but he might hold a prebend, or a benefice without cure of souls and not requiring personal residence, if the value did not in either case exceed ten marks (£6 13s. 4d.).* Woodlark had ordered that during dinner the Bible was to be read, or other writings of the holy fathers and doctors, and the reading was to be by a puer or a clericus. Under the new régime only the Bible was to be read,† and by a puer or a discipulus.

A very long and complicated Statute of Woodlark for prayers, masses, and other suffrages for the Founder in his lifetime and after his death, was struck out completely. At the end of the Edwardian Statutes there

^{*} See page 76.

[†] See page 94.

is an excellent addition, to which there was nothing in Woodlark's Statutes to correspond, headed Of Common Prayer and other pious exercises to be held in the College. It opens with the admirable sentiment "Inasmuch as the University and the Colleges thereof are bound not only to teach letters but also to promote piety." After dealing with ordinary days, this exemplary Statute proceeds: "On Sundays and also on other Festivals let morning and evening Prayer be held, and if any wish to communicate let the Holy Communion be celebrated." It ends with an admirable appeal to all the members of the College to live and to study in a manner becoming those who have such great opportunities.

Finally, the Commissioners boldly altered the preamble, and instead of the words translated from Woodlark's preamble on page 16, they made him speak other and very different words,—

"I Robert Woodlark . . . have founded and established a College or Hall . . . to the praise glory and honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, for the advantage of His Church, for the administration of the sacred word of God, for increasing the knowledge of sacred theology philosophy and other arts."

The new Statutes all through were made to run in Woodlark's name. It was a very barefaced proceeding, and to our modern ideas quite inexcusable. When the time came for new Statutes under the Commission of 1877-81, care was taken to make the preamble an historical statement of Woodlark's share in the matter, and the Statutes were made to run in the name of the Commissioners and the College.

CHAPTER VIII

The King's purveyor of poultry and Dr. Sandys—Courage of Sandys—Letter of Gardiner expelling him—Cardinal Pole's Commission—List of members of the College about 1556—Queen Elizabeth's Commission—Queen Elizabeth's Visitation—John Maplet.

WE have seen the vehemence of Dr. Sandys against his University opponents, and we are about to see his courage in the face of the gravest danger. But, before we come to that, it is quite a relief to find that Dr. Sandys sometimes met with his match. When he was Vice-Chancellor, in March 1553, he drew up a vigorous letter of complaint against the conduct " of one William Pallet, deputed purveyor for the Kinges Majesties provision of poultry, &c." Dr. Sandys had required him either to show the prices appointed for him or to submit to estimates by the constable or four honest men; but "the said pulter refused so to do or to declare, but toke all thynges of his own pryce and rate." Then Dr. Sandys had produced evidence that the pulter had sold to dyverse men "a phesant plovers and larkes" which he had requisitioned for the King; but the pulter only swore that if he did not such things his office was not worth having, and he would give twenty nobles to be quit of it. Finally, with unwonted absence of the "dager" spirit, Dr. Sandys had "required him to use his commyssion discretly"; but

"the said Pallet was so evil content with such like wordes that he did contemptuously cast his commyssion to the said Vicechancellor and commanded hym to go and to serve the commyssion hymself,"

and then went off and spent

"all that daye braggynge at tavernes and alehouses in the towne in thretting that he wolde shortly procure some officers and Justyces of the universitie to be set in the marcyalsee."

A worse trial was in store for Dr. Sandys in four months time. Edward VI. died on July 6, but his death was not announced till the 10th, when Lady Jane Grey was proclaimed. Mary, who had been summoned as though by her brother to come to him, actually after he was dead, had got as far as Sawston; there she spent the night, at Sir John Huddleston's house, but warning had reached her and next day she turned back into Suffolk. The people of Cambridge burned Huddleston's fair house, and Mary punished them by giving him Cambridge Castle, out of the stones of which he should build a fairer house. This was the origin of the present beautiful old house of Sawston, parts of which, by a curious turn in the wheel of fortune, were taken as the model for the new Lodge of St. Catharine's, where Dr. Sandys' successor now resides.

The Council sent the Duke of Northumberland with an army to arrest Mary. He reached Cambridge on July 15. Dr. Sandys, the Vice-Chancellor, and one or two other Heads of Houses, had supper with him; and he appointed Dr. Sandys as Vice-Chancellor to preach on the next day, Sunday the 16th. "The Doctor," Fuller tells us,

"late at night betakes himself to his prayers and study. His Bible opens at the first of Joshua, and a strong fancy inclined him to fix on the first words he beheld, namely, 'And they answered Joshua, saying, All that thou commandest we will do; and whither soever thou sendest us we will go.' A fit text indeed for him, as in the event it proved, to whom it occasioned much sanctified affliction. However, so wisely and warily he handled the words, that his enemies got not so full advantage against him as they expected."

On Monday the Duke marched out towards Bury. On Tuesday he came back, having found the country up in Mary's favour. On Wednesday the Council proclaimed Mary in London, and on Thursday, about five in the evening, the Duke took with him Dr. Sandys and the Mayor and proclaimed Mary Queen in the marketplace of Cambridge, and "among other he threwe uppe his owne cappe . . . and so laughed that the tears ran down his cheeks for grief." He told Dr. Sandys that Mary was a merciful woman, that he had sent unto her to know her pleasure and looked for a general pardon. Dr. Sandys was not made of whining and crying stuff. "My life is not dear unto me," he replied, "neither have I said or done anything that urgeth my conscience." As for what he had said of the State, he had instructions signed by sixteen of the Council; nor had he spoken further than the laws of God and of the realm "But be you assured," the Vice-Chancellor said to the Chancellor, "you shall never escape death, for if she would save you, they that now shall rule will kill you." The Chancellor-Duke was arrested in King's College, probably next day, and Dr. Sandys went for a walk in the fields to be out of the way. Hearing the bell ring for a Congregation, for which he knew that he had not given any order, his courage brought him back

into the town. He found that one Dr. Mouse, an earnest Protestant the day before, and one for whom he had done much, was now become a papist and his great enemy, and had carried off from his Lodge the keys and books of his office. He summoned the bedells and bade them take him to the Regent House, and there he seated himself. He was proceeding to address the perturbed University, when one Mr. Mitch with a rabble of unlearned papists conspired together to pull him out of his chair and use violence to him. He began his oration, charging the University with great ingratitude, remembering unto them how beneficial he had been and how unthankful they were. Thereupon Mr. Mitch and his rabble laid hand upon the chair to pull it from him, and they called him traitor,

"Whereat he perceiving how they use violence, and being of great courage, groped to his dagger, and had despatched some of them as God's enemies, if Dr. Bill* and Dr. Blith* had not fallen upon him and prayed him for God's sake to hold his hands and be quiet, and patiently to bear that great offered wrong. He was persuaded by them, and after that tumult was ceased he ended his oration, and having some monies of the Universities in his hand he there delivered the same every farthing. He gave up the books, reckonings, and keys, pertaining to the University, and withal yielded up his office, praying God to give the University a better officer, and to give them better and more thankful hearts; and so repaired home to his own College."

His courage was still high. They came next day and

^{*} Dr. Bill had dined with the Duke in Dr. Sandys' company on the Saturday night. Dr. Blyth had been suspended from voting in the Senate House for his violence on a former occasion (page 50).

told him the Queen's pleasure was that he should be taken to the Tower of London with the Duke, and one Mr. Mildmay said he marvelled that a learned man would speak so unadvisedly against so good a prince and wilfully run into such danger. Dr. Sandys made answer:

"I shall not be ashamed of bonds. But if I could do as Mr. Mildmay can I needed not fear bonds; for he came down in paiment against Queen Mary and armed in the field, and now he returneth in paiment for Queen Mary, before a traitor and now a great friend. I cannot blow hot and cold after this sort.

"Upon this his stable was robbed of four notable good geldings; the best of them Master Huddelstone took for his own saddle and rode on him to London in his sight... He was set upon a lame horse that halted to the ground, which thing a friend of his perceiving prayed that he might lend him a nagg. The yeomen of the guard were contented."

They reached the Tower on July 25. The Duke and others were beheaded. Dr. Sandys regained his liberty with difficulty and went abroad. The events of his later life will be found recorded in Chapter X.

The Queen had beheaded the Chancellor of the University and got rid of the Vice-Chancellor. Stephen Gardiner, the restored Chancellor, sent on January 13, 1554, the following letter:

"To my loving friends the President and Fellows in St. Catharine's Hall in Cambridge.

"After my hearty commendations, whereas it pleased the Queen's Highness to commit unto me the ordering of all matters appertaining to the University and that nothing is more necessary for the same than to have good and discreet heads in the College. Therefore seeing that the Mastership of your house by reason that the Master thereof is married contrary to the Ecclesiastical Laws and your Statutes is now void; These shall be to desire you that you will choose the bearer hereof, Mr. Cosyn, a man for his wisdom and honest behaviour very meet for that Room; And in so doing you shall have me ready to do you like pleasure when time and occasion shall serve by God's Grace, who prosper you in all godly study and virtue.

"Your loving friend,

"STE. WINTON, Cancell."

It was not till January 1557 that Cardinal Pole, as legate of the Holy See, undertook to visit the University and Colleges. He delegated his powers to Commissioners, who began their visitation January 11, 1557.

"On January 18, in going home from Queens' College to Trinity College, the Visitors sent for Mr. Cosyn, Master of Catharine Hall, requiring his Statutes, for they would be there to-morrow at 7. On Tuesday, January 19, the Bishop of Chester and Dr. Cole, at 7 o'clock, went to Catharine Hall, first into the Chapel and heard Mass said. But the Bishop of Lincoln and the Datary remained at Trinity College to examine all those who were yesterday sworn against Bucer. They made an end at Catharine Hall by 10 and went to Trinity College to dinner."

Special Statutes were not given to particular Colleges. General Ordinances were given, dated March 18, 1557.

There is in the University Registry (x. 76) a list of the Members of the College towards the end of Queen Mary's reign, as follows:— Magister Collegii, Edmundus Cosyne [Bedfordshire].

Magistri Artium, Georgius Chatburn [Billington, Lanc.].

Franciscus Doryngton [Stafford].

Baccalaurei, Joannes Maddoke [Malpas, Chesh.].

Radulphus Cowton [Dunsforth, Yorks.].

Joannes Cragge [York].

Pensionarii, Marmaducus Munsen [Carlton, Linc.].

Carolus Parker.
Joannes Drase.
Thomas Parker.

Discipuli, Rolandus Jhonsen, Bibliotista.

Henricus Smythe, Promus.

Joannes Ewle.

Gulielmus Dorington.
Joannes Dorington.
Gulielmus Chatburne.
Gulielmus Gaetes.

Coquus, Nicholaus Jhonson.

The places of birth are added from the College records.

King Henry VIII., King Edward VI., and Queen Mary, had visited and enquired into the University and Colleges. Queen Elizabeth, representing yet another sweep of the pendulum, must do the same. She issued a Commission June 20, 1559. The Commissioners began their work in King's College Chapel September 17. At St. Catharine's they restored the Edwardian Statutes and ejected Cosyn from the Mastership, if indeed he had succeeded in keeping it so long.

At Queen Elizabeth's great visit to the University in 1564 she could not cover the whole of the work prepared for her. At Benet College, because the time was passed, she would hear no oration; but she accepted a pair of gloves and certain boxes of comfits. At Pembroke Hall and Peterhouse she heard orations, the latter "very neat and trimm."

"From thence her Magistie came home by the Queen's College and St. Katharine's Hall; only perusing the houses, because it was almost one a clock."

We had our Mr. Howgrave ready with his oration, but it was not called for: those who wish to read it will find it in Nichols's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth.** The Vice-Chancellor and Heads came to Catharine Hall to present a pair of gloves to the Earl of Sussex, who was lodged there: his 300 servants were lodged in the town, there not being room for them in the College. The Earl of Sussex received a visit at St. Catharine's from the Town also: they gave him a marche pane and a sugar lofe, which cost them £1. By taking eight marche panes and sugar lofes, for eight noblemen, they got a discount of six pence, paying £7 19s. 6d.

The number of members of the College at the time of the Queen's visit in 1564 was much smaller than at any other College. Corpus Christi, the next smallest, had half as many again; others had twice, three times, and up to fifteen times as many. In 1573 we had thirty-two in all; and though we were still much the smallest of the Colleges, the disparity was not so great. In 1641 we had 102 men, being a larger number than eight of the Colleges had. The two largest Colleges had only 280 (St. John's) and 277 (Trinity). In 1672 we had 150 members, only four of the Colleges being larger.

We had an interesting man among our Fellows about this time, John Maplet, of Bury in Suffolk. A little

^{*} Cooper, Annals, ii. 18.

book of his was published in black letter in 1659, from which we see that he was an earnest student of the works of God in nature, and sought to encourage simple folk to look from nature to nature's God. We see also that he had regard to his readers' convenience in the arrangement of his material. On both accounts he is worthy of commemoration here. Edward Maplet, also of Suffolk, was a Fellow of the College a generation later.

The title-page runs thus;

"A greene Forest, or a naturall Historie, wherein may be seene the most sufferaigne vertues in the whole kinde of stones and mettals... herbes, trees, brute beastes, foules, fishes, serpents, &c., and that alphabetically: so that a table shall not neede. By John Maplet M. of Arte and Student in Cambridge, entending hereby yt God might especially be glorified; and the people furdered."

He takes as his motto: "O Lord howe mervellous are thy woorkes: in wisedom hast thou made them all." He concludes his work in these words:

"Thus much I had for the learned sort. The other I doe not mistrust: for whom principally I was couetous to bestowe this such my trauaile, and will (if I shall see them thankefull hereafter) more aboundantlye to their delectation and profite that they may be moued at this the working of God in these such his inferiour Creatures."

CHAPTER IX

The Queen's letter about the Mastership—Disputed vacation of Fellowships—Creation of fictitious titles to land—The College in the Star Chamber—Lease in 1535 by Prior and Convent of Barnwell in Court in 1582—Election of Dr. Overall to the Mastership.

On March 28, 1577, Queen Elizabeth sent a letter to the College, "given under our signet at our palace of Westminster," on the subject of the Mastership, "shortly to be void by the advancement of John Mey, Doctor in Divinity" [to the Bishopric of Carlisle]. Her Majesty required and commanded her trusty and well-beloved President and Fellows to assemble themselves with all convenient speed upon the avoidance of the office, and elect her well-beloved subject, Edmund Hound, Bachelor of Divinity.

Cases of disputed vacation of Fellowships in 1580 and 1592 show how difficult it was for the College to obtain accurate information as to the preferment of the Fellows.

The details of the first case will suffice. John Furmary obtained leave of absence from the College and left Cambridge in the first week of July, proceeding to Lincoln and staying there till Michaelmas Day. There seems nothing serious in that. The Master, however, evidently had heard something, but had not sufficient evidence. He put Furmary out of commons on December 2, 1580, and on December 7 declared his Fellowship vacant on the ground that he had been

absent without sufficient cause for a longer time than the Statutes allowed.

Furmary appealed to the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Perne of Peterhouse, who issued an injunction to the College. The College disregarded this and elected John Foxe in The next Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Fulke, his place. decided in Furmary's favour and declared the costs payable by the College to be 240 shillings; but on December 15, 1582, came the explanation of the whole thing, Hound having now got his proofs. March 26, 1579, the Dean and Precentor of Lincoln had admitted him by proxy to the Prebend of Wilton Payneshall, the tenths of which were 11s. $2\frac{1}{2}d$. (i.e. the annual value in the King's Books was £5 12s. 1d.), and on August 19, 1580, while Furmary was supposed to be innocently enjoying his leave of absence, he was inducted into the church of Saltfleet St. Peter, diocese Lincoln, on the presentation of Robert and Elizabeth Mounsie, the tenths of which were 10s. (i.e. the annual value $\mathcal{L}5$). The Prebend he could lawfully hold (see page 64), for it did not reach £6 13s. 4d. a year, but the benefice with cure of souls he could not hold with his Fellowship; induction to it had vacated ipso facto his Fellowship.

Two cases of deeds executed by the College, purporting to lease and convey property which there is no other evidence to show that they ever really held, probably illustrate a curious method of obtaining a title to lands. On April 24, 1580, the College sealed letters of attorney to Cragge and another "to enter into that our Manor of Godstone," in the parish of Ryegate in Surrey, and "to our use to claim and the possession of the same to our use to take, and having possession thereof . . . then to

seal a certain writing containing the form and words of a demise made in our names to John Stevens citizen and tallow chandler of London of the aforesaid premises with their appurtenances for the term of five years from the Feast of Easter last past,"

and

"then in our place right and name to deliver the same to the said John Stevens as our deed."

There is no trace elsewhere of the College having any interest in this property. The same is true in the second case.

The history of a Corporation in those times would be incomplete without some record of a Star Chamber matter. Such a record we have.

Richard Aunger, Esquire, not a Bencher of Gray's Inn for nothing, was tenant of certain lands under lease from the College. It appears that he made large claims: he could cut and he did cut timber; he had the right to present to Coton; and so on. He was charged by the College with unlawfully inserting a clause in his lease. There had been tension between the College and their tenant, for (1) on December 28, 1576, he had got a warrant against John Cragge (Johannes Craggus, the business Fellow of the College) and others for threatening to injure him.

The College (2) petitioned the Queen to have him brought into the Star Chamber and punished for removing a boundary-stone and falsifying a terrier-book which they had lent to him. Steps 3, 4, 5, 6 were answers, replications, interrogatories, and depositions. On June 18, 1578, the Queen issued (7) a Commission to the Vice-Chancellor of the University to examine

witnesses. Steps 8-14 were as before. On October 16, 1579, a decree of the Star Chamber (15) referred the matter to Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer; John Popham, Solicitor-General; and Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster. On Nov. 11, 1579, came (16) the award. Steps 17 and 18 were the agreement to carry it out and cease from all claims and causes of quarrel, and the receipt for the money awarded.

The award was to the effect that on an examination of the whole, the Commissioners could not think that Aunger's acts came within the compass of forgery; he must be acquitted of any slander caused against him on that account. But he had put the College to considerable cost in connection with the felling of timber in a wood adjoining the close next his house, which wood is thought not to be in his lease, and he must pay £30 to the College, "on this side the Nativity of our Lord God," and not fell any wood growing upon his lease during the remainder of his continuance.

That seems a conclusion satisfactory to the College, and they were now out of the Star Chamber, but they were not out of the wood yet. Another suit was going on about another wood, and they did not come out of that so well. It was a rather remarkable case.

In 1578 the College sold to Richard Faune, of Chesterton, certain timber trees more than twenty-one years old, growing in Bassam's Close, for £21 8s. 0d. They had leased Bassam's Close at Christmas 1562 to Richard Cobb for forty years. Dr. Thomas Lorkin had acquired from Cobb the right of the lease. Lorkin claimed the trees as his in virtue of the lease, and sued the College before the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Byng, Master of Clare, for the £21 8s. 0d. The Vice-Chan-

cellor condemned them to pay the money and the costs. They appealed to the Senate under the Statutes, and four Delegates were appointed—a Doctor of Laws, two Bachelors of Divinity, and a Master of Arts. They reversed the sentence of the Vice-Chancellor, the College having pleaded two points. One was that the timber, being above twenty-one years old, was by the law and custom of the country the property not of the lessee but of the owners of the soil. This was an interesting point. The other was a remarkable point, or rather it was two remarkable points. They declared that their lease of 1562 to Cobb for forty years had in fact never taken effect—this was in 1582—because the Prior and Convent of Barnwell Abbey, the former owners of the property, had leased it at Lady Day 1535 to Thomas Raynes for fifty-one years, and that lease was still running and had nearly four years yet to run; and, further, that Faune, to whom they had sold the timber, had married Margerie Raynes, the lessee's daughter, and was in right of his wife the actual owner of the original lease. This was, indeed, an ingenious double plea, and though the whole argument prevailed with the Delegates, our sympathies can scarcely go with the College, except so far as their plea of "custom of the country" was sound.

When we look back into the College records we find that they had long known of this previous lease, and that Philip and Mary had made no special difficulty about the purchase of abbey lands. The King and Queen gave licence, April 5, 1557, to buy Bassam's Close, late the property of Barnwell Abbey, and other lands in Chesterton, of Richard Brakyn. The College paid 22s. 8d. for the fine, 20s. 4d. for the seal, 8d. for the execution, and £100 for the land.

Having thus got the land securely, as they thought, in 1557, they leased it to Cobb in 1562. Finding Richard Faune in possession, they took steps in 1573 to eject him. But he showed them his lease from the Prior and Convent of Barnwell, and they revoked the order to proceed with his ejectment. All this had taken place before their sale of timber in 1578 and years before the suit of 1582. Certainly Cobb had a good deal to complain of, and Lorkin, who had acquired Cobb's right, more still.

The Prior and Convent had acted as children of this generation in leasing the land for fifty-one years at a date so near to their dissolution as 1535. It is remarkable that their lease held good over so long a period.

An election to the Mastership of unusual importance took place in March 1598 on the death of Hound. the first scrutiny—at 7 A.M on Monday, March 8—the three Senior Fellows voted for Dr. John Overall, Regius Professor of the Divinity; the three Juniors voted for Dr. Simon Robson, of St. John's. The Senior Fellow, Cragge, summoned six or seven other meetings on that day and the next, but always with the same result. the last of these—at 5 P.M. on Tuesday—Cragge pronounced Dr. Overall duly elected. The three Juniors held that the two full days allowed by the Statutes did not expire till forty-eight hours after the commencement of the first meeting, in which they were probably right. They met on Wednesday morning before 7 A.M., and as the others refused to come, they proceeded to vote as before for Dr. Robson, but Forster, who was the senior of the three, did not formally declare the election.

The three Juniors applied at 8 A.M. the same day to the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Jegon, of Corpus Christi, stating that no one had been elected by a majority of votes, protesting against the pretended election of Dr. Overall, suggesting that it devolved upon the Vice-Chancellor to appoint, and praying an injunction.

Dr. Jegon was prompt. At two o'clock that afternoon he had the whole six before him in the Consistory, when the three Seniors pleaded that Dr. Overall's election was valid, and that, if it was not, the appointment devolved by lapse upon the Crown. The Vice-Chancellor adjourned the further hearing to 3 r.m. Thursday, then to 7 a.m. Friday, then to 8 a.m. Saturday, sitting four hours each time. One wonders what in the world there could be for them to say through all those sixteen hours, or how there could be so little else for them to do that they could give the time.

At noon on Saturday Dr. Jegon declared Dr. Robson to have been duly elected, and announced that he would give a written judgment at 8 a.m. on Monday. The three Seniors begged him to delay formal judgment on many grounds, among them this, that the Archbishop (Whitgift) had required them not to do anything prejudicial to the election of Dr. Overall. Dr. Robson, however, was admitted to the Mastership on the Saturday afternoon.

The Deus ex machina was called in. A letter from the Queen for the admission of Dr. Overall was obtained, and was brought to the College "a week after quiet possession taken by Dr. Robson." Dr. Overall was admitted Master on Easter-day, April 16, 1598. He became Bishop of Lichfield in 1614, and Bishop of Norwich in 1618. Dr. Robson became Dean of Bristol in 1598, and died in 1617.

CHAPTER X

Five Masters, viii-xii, 1547-1606: Sandys, Cosyn, Mey, Hound, Overall-William Forster, Bishop.

VIII. Of Edwin Sandes (1547-1554)—as the name is spelled in his epitaph at Southwell Minster—almost enough has been said in the course of our narrative. One or two further points of interest may be mentioned.

His release from prison, after he had refused to accept opportunities for escaping, was ordered by Queen Mary, who was influenced in his favour by two of her ladies. She said to Gardiner: "Winchester, what think you by Dr. Sandys; is he not sufficiently punished?" "As it please your Majesty," he replied. "Then truly we would that he were set at liberty." No sooner had this taken effect than two came to Gardiner and declared that Sandys was one of the most dangerous of their opponents; on which the Bishop tried to catch him as he left London, but in vain. Sandys got safe to Antwerp, and thence to Strassburg, and afterwards to Zürich, where he stayed with Peter Martyr till he heard of Queen Mary's death. He reached London again on the day of Elizabeth's coronation, and was sent to preach in the interests of the Reformed Religion in the northern counties. In 1559 he was consecrated to Worcester, where he was employed upon the Bishops' Bible, his share being 1 and 2 Kings and 1 and 2 Chronicles. In 1570 he became Bishop of London, and in 1576 Archbishop of York. He had great troubles as Archbishop. At one time they tried to take away

Bishopthorpe; at another time Southwell. Through these and many difficulties the old "dager" spirit carried him. When Grindal died in 1583, Sandys was thought likely to be his successor; but his warmth of temper stood in his way, and the Queen did not like the Primate to be a married man. The Church owes to him the advancement of Richard Hooker, who was tutor to his son Edwin, and for whom he obtained the Mastership of the Temple. The Archbishop died in 1588, and is buried at Southwell.

Sandys was direct and plain. In a sermon preached before the Queen, he says of his text (Is. iv. 6, 7):

"If I should follow it at large, as every part shall minister occasion of speech, I should be too long for this place. But I mind brevity, because I know before whom I speak. Few words will be sufficient for the wise; and to a mind well instructed already a short putting in mind will serve."

This sermon was of marked brevity: it only takes three-quarters of an hour to read it in a room. One of his sermons "made at the Spittle in London" was two and a quarter times as long. In his sermon of farewell to London, preached at Paul's Cross, he speaks of the correction he has felt it his duty to apply:

"I have sought reformation, and not revenge: to punish hath been a punishment to myself: I never did it but with great grief: I have always laboured rather by persuasion to reclaim transgressors, than by correction: with which kind of dealing because stubborn minds will not be bowed, my softness, I grant, hath rather deserved reproof than praise."

Some of his secular antagonists in the dioceses of

Worcester, London, and York, would have reason to wonder at that word "softness." In his sermon at Paul's Cross, "preached at his first coming to the Bishopric of London," he said:

"It is you, it is you, dearly beloved, that have drawn me hither. Her majesty could spy nothing in me worthy of this room but your too much and on my part altogether undeserved liking. The Lord be merciful unto me and grant me His grace, that in some measure I may answer your expectation."

Neal (Puritans, i. 132) says that Sandys when Bishop of Worcester spoke to Queen Elizabeth against her crucifix with the Blessed Virgin and St. John, and she threatened to deprive him.

Sandys, whose father was the Receiver-General of the Liberties of Furness Abbey and founded the Furness Grammar School, left four sons. Samuel the eldest was the ancestor of the Lords Sandys of Ombersley. Sir Edwin was a distinguished politician. Sir Myles became a baronet; the title expired with his son Sir Myles. George was celebrated as a traveller and poet.

IX. Edmund Cosyn, 1554-1559, had been a Fellow of King's Hall since 1537, beginning as Bible-clerk there, and became one of the original Fellows of Trinity in 1546. He was not eligible for the Mastership of St. Catharine's, but the Fellows obeyed Gardiner's command.

Cosyn held many ecclesiastical preferments. He was vicar of Grendon, Northants, 1538-1541; rector of St. Edmund, Lynn, 1553; vicar of Caistor and Oxburgh, Norf., 1554; rector of Fakenham, 1555; official to the Archdeacon of Norfolk, chaplain to Bishop Bonner,

and rector of Thrapland, Norf., 1555. He became Vice-Chancellor in 1558, a grace to the following effect being passed on the occasion.

"That Mr. Cosin, Vice-Chancellor elect, be allowed to be admitted to his office at his own house, and there to take the oath and receive the Seal and the Keys, in the presence of Doctors Younge and Bullocke, the Proctors, Mr. Hansop and Mr. Hewater, by reason that on account of ill-health he dares not come forth."

On the death of Queen Mary, he resigned the Mastership, the Vice-Chancellorship, and all his ecclesiastical promotions, and retired to Caius, where he lived privately. "Dr. Caius no doubt sheltered him," is Dr. Philpott's note.

By the kindness of Dr. Venn, Cosyn's connection with Gonville and Caius College can be stated here. The Matriculation Book has an entry of which the following is a translation:

"Edmund Cousen, born in Bedfordshire, 50 years of age, formerly Præfectus of St. Catharine's Hall, was admitted into our College, November 20, 1561. He was assigned the first upper cubicle, and paid 7s. 4d. for his matriculation."

Dr. Venn adds that he was still at Caius in August 1564. In 1568 he was summoned before the Lords of the Council; but he preferred to leave the country, and for some time at least he lived abroad. His will was proved July 8, 1574, though he has been supposed to be living abroad in 1576. In it he is described as of Sandon, Chesterton, Stafford, and London. Goods are to be distributed "for my soul's health."

X. John Mey (1559-1577), of Suffolk. We know very little of this Master, who had not been a Fellow of the College. His brother, William Mey, had been one of the University Commissioners of Edward VI., and when Cosyn was removed—probably by Elizabeth's Commissioners—the promotion of John was secured. Like others, he had bent before the wind, for we find him signing the "Popish Articles" in July 1555. filled the office of Vice-Chancellor in the year 1569. He was appointed to a Prebend in Ely Cathedral in 1564, and this emolument he only resigned in 1582. In the year of his Vice-Chancellorship he became Archdeacon of the East Riding of Yorkshire. September 29, 1577, he was consecrated to the Bishopric of Carlisle by the Bishop of London, acting for the Archbishop of York, six months after Queen Elizabeth had recommended to the College his successor in the Mastership. He died Bishop of Carlisle in April 1598. Daniel Milles says of his government of the College: "Postquam optimum prudentiæ et integritatis specimen apud nos præbuisset, ad episcopatum Carliolensem evectus est."

XI. Edmund Hound, 1577-1598, was not a Fellow of the College. We are again indebted to Dr. Venn for his entry and other facts:

"Edmund Hownd, M.A., son of John Hound, merchant of London. Born at Calais. Admitted Fellow Commoner at Gonville and Caius College, June 14, 1568. Assigned the second upper cubicle on the east side of the Court."

His connection with the College was not on the whole a peaceful one. In 1580, John Furmarie appealed against him to the Vice-Chancellor for depriving

him of his Fellowship, and the Vice-Chancellor restored him. In 1592 Robert Cansfield appealed against him on the same ground, and the Vice-Chancellor restored him. In July of the same year he prosecuted four of his Fellows in the Vice-Chancellor's Court.

He became rector of Simondsbury, Dorset, and died there. The County historian refers to a tradition that he hanged himself in his cellar. Great haste was made to prove his will, for he either made his will, or died, or both, on Sunday, February 20, and it was proved on March 2, 1598. Among the entries of burials in the register of the Church, we find "Dr. Edmund Hound, parson, 1597" (old style).

After a stormy life, and, it would seem, a death in accordance with his life, his name rests peacefully in the List of Benefactors: "Edmund Hound, Doctor in Divinity and Master of this House, a legacy of £100."

XII. John Overall entered at St. John's in 1575, and became Scholar and Fellow of Trinity in 1578 and 1581. In 1596 he became Senior Fellow, and also Regius Professor of Divinity, this last preferment being a mark of protest against the views put forth in the Lambeth Articles by his predecessor, Whitaker. His election to our Mastership, in 1598, was followed by his appointment to the Deanery of St. Paul's in 1602, a very important step in his career, for it gave him a large position in London and in Convocation at the death of Elizabeth and in the early years of James. He played an important part at the Hampton Court Conference; and the consequent addition to the Church Catechism, namely, the section on the Sacraments, was written by him, and stands now practically as he left it.

He became Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation in 1605, and in that capacity had much to do with the abortive books of Canons, a subject on which we need not enter here. His manuscript copy was published by Sancroft in 1690. In 1607 he resigned the Mastership of the College, In 1611 he took part in the revision of the English version of the Old Testament, being one of the ten who dealt with the books from Genesis to 2 Kings. John Cosin, Bishop of Durham, was his secretary and chaplain after his appointment in 1614 to the see of Coventry and Lichfield, from which see he was translated to Norwich in 1618, where he died half a year after the confirmation of his election.

William Forster matriculated as Sizar March 14. 1589. In 1598 he became Vicar of Ridgwell. preferment he did not hold long, for we find another Fellow, William Moone, elsewhere mentioned, appointed to Ridgwell in 1603, and instituted June 7, 1604. Forster, it appears, had gone to his native county of Lancaster, to "reduce Popish recusants" there. 1609 he was "King's Preacher" at Garstang. In 1617 he was made Doctor in Divinity by Royal Letters, in the mandate for which he is set forth as "one of our chaplains, employed as our stipendiary preacher for reducing of Popish recusants within our County of Lancaster to good conformity," and it is declared that he "hath for the space of 15 years continued his course to the great good of the country." He became Prebendary of Chester, and in 1633 Bishop of Sodor and Man. He died in 1634.

CHAPTER XI

Earliest post-Reformation endowments—John Cholmeley
—Robert Skerne—Rosamond Payne—Investment of
Scholarship endowments in building chambers for
students—Sir John Claypoole—Mrs. Julian Stafford—
Thomas Hobbes—William Spurstow—Dame Catharine
Barnardiston—Involved finances of the College—The
College plate—Puritan influence.

AFTER the Reformation, endowments with obit conditions ceased. Gifts and bequests to the College for the endowment of Scholarships pure and simple began in 1587, when Mr. John Cholmeley left 50s. a year for one Scholarship, as a permanent charge upon his house, the Golden Ball in the Old Bailey. His brother William Cholmeley inadvertently sold the Golden Ball to Mr. Fownes (for £300) without telling him of this charge upon the house. He made, or meant to make, amends by bequeathing in 1641 £37 to the inheritors of the said house, as compensation for the charge of 50s. a year (at 63 per cent.), having during his lifetime steadily paid the 50s. a year out of his own pocket. Why he did not leave the money to the College, on condition of their freeing the Golden Ball, it is difficult to see. There were suits against Samuel Fownes, the son of the purchaser, in 1654 and 1661, but the College could make nothing of it, for the house never had paid the money, and in 1665 they gave it up and ceased to maintain a Cholmeley Scholar.

In a rather roundabout way, all this turned to the

very great profit of the College. One of the executors of William Cholmeley's will was Robert Skerne. He was cognisant of the ill-treatment the College had by accident received, and by his will in 1662 he left lands in Adlingfleet and Whitgift to maintain four Scholars at the College, and ordered his executors to purchase other lands to maintain four more Scholars, which they did at a cost of £736 6s. 8d. He named the first four Scholars. This was an excellent recompense for the 50s. or for the £37; and the recompense went very much beyond all this, for Mr. Skerne was the uncle of Mrs. Ramsden, and no doubt it was this connection with the College that brought her to found in the College six new Fellowships and ten new Scholarships.

In 1610 Rosamond Payne left £100 to the College for the maintenance of one or two Scholars. With this and £26 13s. 4d. from other sources a building of six chambers was added to the College, called Payne's Buildings, forming a little court called Rosamond Payne's Court, until, in well-merited honour of Mr. Bucke, it was called Bucke's Buildings. It stood on that part of the site of the present grass plot which is near the entrance to staircase B of the present Ramsden Building.

This investment of money in College buildings, as one of the most remunerative sources of income, is brought out more clearly in an important benefaction three years later. In 1613, Sir John Claypoole, Knight, of Northborough, in Northamptonshire, gave £120 towards the work going on, "called the new Building," to maintain his Scholars out of the rents of the rooms thus added. They were to receive between them £5 6s. 8d., and if the rent fell below that they were to receive only the rent. With this £120 the College erected a

building called Claypoole's Building. It ran from north to south, from the extremity of the old chapel to half-way through the site of staircase B in the Ramsden building and of the east end of the adjoining building, now called the Old Lodge.

In 1627 Mrs. Julian Stafford, wife of Alexander Stafford, of High Holborn, one of the Remembrancers of the Court of Wards, gave by will considerable lands, out of which £5 a year was to be paid to each of four poor Scholars of the College "that study Divinity and carry themselves soberly and religiously."

In 1631, Thomas Hobbes,* of Gray's Inn, one of Mrs. Stafford's trustees, left cottages and lands in Braintree to endow with £5 a year the Catechising Lecture which he had begun in Catharine Hall, to endow a £3 Scholarship at Pembroke, and all the rest of the income to maintain two or three poor scholars at Catharine Hall or Emmanuel, with priority of selection to Catharine Hall, "especially so long as my worthy friend Doctor Sibbs shall continue Master of the said Hall." These vague terms were sure to cause difficulty in the course of time. It came to a head about thirty years ago, and was settled by arbitration.

In 1646, William Spurstow, father of William Spurstow, then Master of the College, left £100 to provide £5 a year for one poor Scholar of the College. And in 1648 £400 came to the College, by the will of Dame Catharine Barnardiston, to buy land, out of the rents of which three poor Scholars should be maintained.

All of these benefactions, providing for the mainten-

^{*} This was not the famous Thomas Hobbes, of Malmesbury, who was a man of forty-three at the date named. In the previous generation, John Hobbes, of Dole in Nottinghamshire, had been a Fellow of the College.

ance of no less than twelve Scholars, besides the uncertain number of Hobbes Scholars, came to the College in thirty-six years, while the Cholmeley 50s. a year was in dispute. Though Lady Barnardiston's benefaction came to the College in 1648, her actual will was dated 1633, so that the latest date of benefaction for a Scholarship was October 21, 1646. That was a fateful date in the political affairs of the kingdom, and no other benefaction was made till the Restoration. Mr. Skerne's will, dated November 16, 1661, left an endowment for three Scholars, and a codicil dated October 8, 1662, for five more, bringing the number of endowed Scholarsexclusive of Mr. Hobbes' Scholars—up to twenty, a very large endowment for the smallest College in the University. It may be mentioned here that Dr. Eachard stated before his death in 1697 that the College had thirty Scholarships; and we find from the College books that in the first five years of his tutorship—1658–1662 -only sixty-six men in all entered at the College, an average of thirteen a year.

We have pursued the foundation of Scholarships to the time of the Restoration, and must now return to the end of the reign of James I.

The new buildings, due to the money left for the endowment of Scholarships, involved a considerable amount of intricate management and a good deal of borrowing and repaying. The Master and Fellows advanced money to pay the bills, and obtained repayment when more money came in. The Master naturally held the threads of these financial transactions among the friends who advanced money; a most likely source of misunderstanding and trouble, if he was not very accurate, or not very acceptable.

The Master at the time of which we are speaking was John Hills. By deed, April 9, 1623, he did, out of his

"love and affection for the College, and the society now in the same, release the College from all sums duties and demands whatsoever due or hereafter to become due to him from the College for any cause whatsoever from the beginning of the world."

It is not at all surprising that by January 22, 1624, they all had to appear before the Vice-Chancellor (Dr. Parke) and the Master of Trinity (Dr. Richardson), to come to some less vague agreement. The clauses 1-4 of the agreement arrived at appear to show that the accounts so gushingly cancelled by the Master were all the other way, and the fifth suggests that he could not quite be trusted even with the goods and utensils of the Lodge.

By this agreement, forced upon him from the outside, Dr. Hills undertook to pay to the College—(1) within two days £20, part of £40 due from the late Master, Dr. Overall;—(2) £10 or £13 supposed to be due from Mr. Moone, a late Fellow, which it was alleged Dr. Hills had promised to pay,—provided that the promise could be proved by the confession of Mr. Moone or the testimony of two or one of the late Fellows;—(3) £8 said to be due from Mr. Knowles, a late Fellow, which it was alleged Dr. Hills had promised to pay,—provided as before;—(4) a further sum of £10 in full discharge of all debts due to the College from Dr. Hills. The fifth article was that an inventory should be taken of all goods and utensils of the College in the use of the Master, such inventory to be put in the College Treasury.

Dr. Hills was near his end at this date. A great

change came. He was succeeded in 1626 by Sibbes. It is rather quaint, considering the position of Sibbes in Church questions, and the fact that Arrowsmith, the Bursar, became the Parliamentary Master of St. John's and then of Trinity, that the first mark Sibbes makes on the College books is in the purchase through the Bursar of a Latin Bible to be read in Hall, and that notwithstanding the issue of King James's Bible. The Latin Bible cost the College five shillings.

So far as the College is concerned, Dr. Sibbes made a mark never to be forgotten. Daniel Milles,* whose words have been quoted above, tells us that the

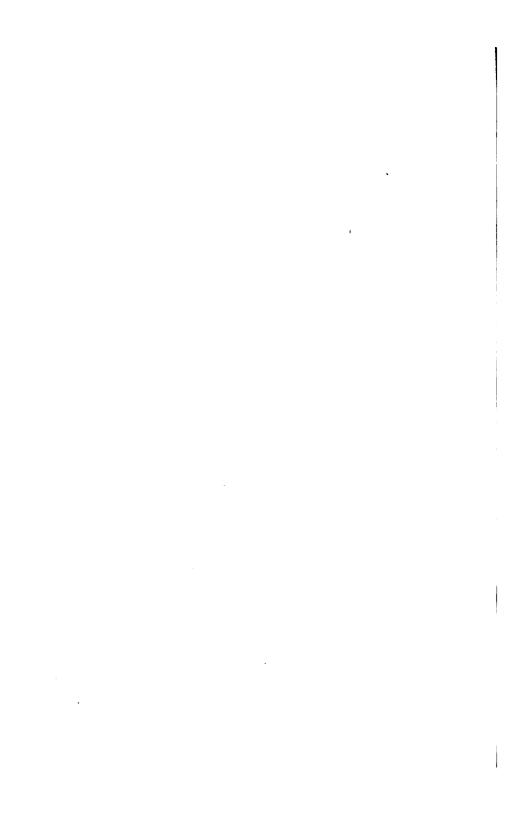
"College had suffered so greatly from the ravages of time and the sloth and avarice of its Master [he was a Parliament man and they had been King's men] that it had become spoiled of its goods and void of all respect. Sibbes restored it to its former fame and dignity, and being a man of the greatest influence among all pious folk he happily brought a large harvest of benefactors into this empty gymnasium."

A very timely and valuable gift came to the College in October 1626, nothing less than the Bull Inn with ground running straight through from Trumpington Street to Queens' Lane. It came by bequest from John Gostlin, M.D., Master of Caius. It is said that once a year the Fellows of Caius used to drink despondently and deeply "to the unhappy memory of Dr. Gosling, who was such a goose as to leave the Bull to Catharine."

^{*} A Fellow of the College (1650-1656) intruded by the Commonwealth, but a devoted student of its archives. He made out lists of Masters, Fellows, &c. from the College books and papers, and gave brief descriptions of the Masters down to and including Sibbes's successor, Brownrigg.



From a bhotograbh by] [J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge THE BULL COURT, A.D. 1629.



At the west end of this site, fronting Queens' Lane, the College built the range of chambers now standing nearest to King's, including the present kitchen, forming what is called the Bull Court. The chambers are very fine examples of the period, some of the doors in particular being very well worth examination. They are mentioned as "set and builded on the site," in a lease dated August 17, 1629, and the College gave a bond for £277 in 1630 to Mr. Bucke, for money advanced for the building. The College accounts for 1634-35 give the total cost as £260 5s. 10d., so it would appear that Mr. Bucke had financed the whole He had done the same for the earlier buildings mentioned above, to the extent, as shown by bonds given by the College, of £173 6s. He also gave money from time to time towards the work. is a marked feature of the various financial efforts made by the College that the Fellows gave largely to the work. In connection with the Payne and Claypoole Buildings, the Master and Fellows gave up, until their bonds were fully discharged, all fines for leases, all payments for Masters' or Bachelors' commencements, and all surplus on steward's accounts. In connection with the "new buildings," now the oldest part of the present College, two of the Fellows who were to play a large part in the Commonwealth affairs, Goodwin and Arrowsmith, advanced £100. The rest of the money came from the benefactions of Mr. Stafford and Mr. Spurstow, being Scholarship money put into bricks and and mortar. A very pretty picture of the northern half of the inner face of this building will be found in Figure 1.

The Entry Books of the College do not carry us

further back than 1627, and we have very slender opportunities of arriving at any moderately safe conclusions as to the number of entries year by year. In and after 1627 they are for a long series of years we may safely say abnormally large, and this was markedly so in the case of Fellow-Commoners, a list of whom from 1627 to 1740 will be found in the Appendix, pages 254-7. A rather unexpected source affords a means of comparing the years including and following 1627 with the years immediately preceding. The details will of themselves be of interest to some readers.

The practice with regard to Fellow-Commoners was that on leaving the College they should present a piece of plate, or a handsome sum of money to purchase plate. From time to time the College books contain lists of the plate thus given, with the names of the donors, sometimes as the result of a special audit, sometimes in the form of lists of plate in the hands of the Master and the several Fellows for personal use. These lists show, even in the case of the smallest of the Colleges, how much was meant by the King or a Parliamentary General "seizing the College plate." It will be of interest to look for the present into two of the fuller lists relating to the time of the Puritan struggle.

On Jan. 27, 1637, the College plate consisted of 33 cans, 7 bowles and wine-cupps, 6 beakers, 4 potts, 5 salts whereof 2 trencher salts, 18 spoones.

The names of the donors of the 33 cans are given as in the first column; the other details, Date of Entry, Christian Name, and Place of Birth, are added for the sake of any one who may be interested in the names on genealogical grounds:

Mr. Acton (2 cans) .	
Mr. Adams	1635 Richard (Lond.)
Mr. Peter Alston .	1628 (? Suff.)
Mr. Joseph Alstone	,
Mr. Bacon	1634 Nicholas (Suff.)
Mr. Baker	1633 Robert (Suss.)
Mr. Barber	` ,
Mr. Barnardiston .	1632 Thomas (Suff.)
Mr. Basill	1630 Martin
Mr. Bowey	1631 Ralph (Lond.)
Mr. Brooks	,
Mr. Dauison	1627
Mr. D'Ewes	1631 (Suff.)
Mr. Duke	1635 George
Mr. Evelyn	1638 Thomas (Lond.)
Mr. Harrison	1635 William (Lond.)
Mr. Heatly	1636 Francis (Hunt.)
Mr. Hill	1628 John
Mr. Hobart	1635 Henry (Norf.)
Mr. Will	
Joh Masham	1632 (Essex)
Mr. Parkhurst	1634 Nathanael (Lond.)
Mr. Pennington .	1633 Isaac (Lond.)
Mr. Pheasant	1630 Stephen (Lond.)
Mr. Reade	1627 Thomas (Lincoln)
Mr. Roberts	1633 Thomas (Essex)
Mr. Jos. Spurstow .	1634 (Lond.)
Mr. Tomlinson .	1629
Mr. Wendy	1632 Francis (Cantabr.)
Mr. Wightman .	1631 William (Notts)
Mr. Wright	1634 Robert (Surr.)
Colledge (2 cans)	` ,
Wa san masayan tha name	og of the donors of some o

We can recover the names of the donors of some of the beakers and potts and of one cupp and one bowle from lists of Dec. 12, 1639, where are mentioned

Mr. Drury's bowle . 1632 Thomas (Suff.)

Dr. Foster's gilt cup

with a cover

Mr. Gerard's pott . 1631 Francis (Harford)

Mr. Harborn's beaker 1628 William (Norf.)

Mr. Hodgson's beaker

Mr. Moore's beaker

Mr. Pickering's pot . 1631 John (Northants)

On May 20, 1647, the cans were 62, being 29 more than in 1637. None of the donors of bowles, cupps, potts, and beakers are included in this list. Some of the cans of 1637 had disappeared, besides a can added to the list in 1639—Mr. Windham's 1638 John (Norf.)—for it will be seen that the following list of fresh names of donors, which ought to contain 29 names, contains in fact 34 names, and 3 nameless cans as against 2 in 1637.

Mr. Amcotts . . 1644

Mr. Askwith

Mr. Barnardiston . 1637 Robert (Bedf.)

Mr. John Bennett . 1644

Mr. Bloyse . . . 1641 William (Suff.)
Mr. Brewster . . . 1641 Francis (Suff.)
Mr. Broke . . . 1637 Robert (Suff.)

Mr. Bruce . .

Mr. Burgoine .

Mr. Calthorp . . 1643

Mr. Capell . . 1638 Gamaliel (Essex)

(Francis enters as pensioner at same date)

Mr. Chaloner . . 1644 (Essex)

Mr. Chester . . 1641 Robert (Hartford) Mr. Chernock . . 1637 St. John (Bedf.)

Mr. Clarke . . 1644

Mr. Dorrill . . 1641 Samuel (Kent) Mr. Ellis . . . 1637 John (Linc.) Mr. Evelin . . 1635

Mr. Gore . . 1641 John (Essex)

Mr. Hagar . . 1641

Mr. Hay .

Mr. William Heatly 1638 (Hunt.)

Mr. Hussey . . 1641 John (Linc.)

Mr. Marsh . . 1641 Thomas (Middles.)

Mr. Prude . . 1642

Mr. Hatton Rich* . 1639 Nobleman

Mr. Scott . . 1637 George (Essex)

Mr. Soames . . 1637 William Soame (Lond.)

1641 John Soame (Suff.)

Mr. Springet . . 1636 William (Cant.)

(Herbert, Cantianus, enters as pensioner)

Mr. St. John . . 1641 Oliver (Northants) 1639

Mr. Staunton . . 1641

Mr. Wilbraham . 1639 Thomas (Chest.)

(Roger, Chest., enters as pensioner at same date.)

Mr. Wiseman . . 1645

Mr. Thomas Wiseman 1645

2 cans without name

A Colledge can

There is no record of the entry as Fellow-Commoners of Mr. Askwith and Mr. Bruce; their cans were added to the list of 1637 in 1638, so that they probably took their degree in 1638. The only Mr. Burgoyne in our lists of entries entered in 1649, and he would seem to have presented his plate before entry, probably defering his formal entry for some special reason.

The great increase in the number of students after 1627 must, so far as the Master is concerned, be attributed to Richard Sibbs. The restoration of its position had become assured to the College before Ralph

^{*} Described in 1686 as gilt.

Brownrigge added the important influence of his name. Turning to the Fellows, we find that the ever-faithful financier, Thomas Bucke, was Fellow during this period, but he was not prominent in any of the political or ecclesiastical strifes of the time. We come to great Puritan names when we read of Thomas Goodwin, elected 1619; John Arrowsmith, elected 1623; John Knowles, elected 1627; and William Spurstow, elected 1630. Those four names, combined with that of Sibbs, are more than enough to account for the great tide of prosperity on which the College rose to its greatest height. It was by their influence that the Claypooles and Cromwells and Riches and St. Johns and Barnardistons and Capels, and others led by them, crowded into the little College at an average rate of about twentythree in a year. It is evidently necessary to say something more of these five men. Sibbs and Spurstow will come in their proper place as Masters of the College; a short account of the others will be found in Chapter XIII.

CHAPTER XII

State of services in Chapel—Election of Ralph Brownrigge to the Mastership—Suspension of the election— Mr. Crichton the Orator—Purchase of Hobson's house— Five Masters, xiii-xvii, x607-x697: Hills, Sibbs, Brownrigge, Spurstow, Lightfoot.

In 1636 a report was made to Archbishop Laud, who had claimed successfully the right to visit the University, of the state of the Chapels in the several Colleges. Only at St. John's, Queens', Peterhouse, Pembroke, and Jesus, was a fairly favourable report possible, and even there they were "faultie still for Apparel and fasting night Suppers." All had Morning and Evening Prayer on all week-days, except Magdalene, where they had no Evening Prayer; but in many cases the services were very far from being either orderly or according to the Prayer Book The report of St. Catharine's is brief "There is some uncertaintie what they doe and vague. in this Chappell now. Of late they were as irregular as any, and most like Emanuel." Emmanuel had a long and bad report. The Master and Fellows responsible at St. Catharine's were Dr. Sibbs, vir pientissimus, concionator mellitissimus, John Lothian, John Knowles, William Spurstow, John Coulson, Samuel Lynford, John Ellis. The two last named, it is fair to say, had only very recently become Fellows, and Coulson does not appear to have been in residence.

Dr. Sibbs died on Commencement Sunday, July 4, 1635, and the Fellows met two days after, one being

absent, and unanimously elected Dr. Ralph Brownrigge. Two of the five Fellows present, John Knowles and William Spurstow, were soon to become marked men. Brownrigge himself, who was a Fellow of Pembroke, was already a marked man. He had been suspended by the Vice-Chancellor in 1618 for propounding privately in his own chamber to three Fellows of Clare the questions (1) Whether a king breaking fundamental laws may be opposed? (2) What is to be thought of the noblemen when they opposed King John making his land feudary to the Pope? The Vice-Chancellor, Dr. John Richardson, of Trinity, had left him after suspension to be censured by the King; but the King had begged that the suspension might be removed. When 1635 came, the first of these questions had assumed very different dimensions, and it so happened that the King was again brought into relations with Brownrigge, through a mistake which was not the King's fault or Brownrigge's. The story is a curious one, and usefully illustrative of the times.

After the admission of Dr. Brownrigge, Charles I. suspended him from the exercise of the office of Master, on the ground—to the great surprise of most of the Fellows—that the election was

"hypothetical and not managed with the respect that was due unto his Majesty's letters of dispensation directed to the Fellows in favour of Mr. Crichton, the University Orator, and procured by him not without the encouragement of some of themselves."

This communication gave the bewildered Fellows a hard nut to crack. The matter was not made easier when, on August 3, 1635, the Chancellor of the University, Lord Holland, directed the Vice-Chancellor and Heads in the King's name to enquire into the circumstances of the election and report to his Majesty, particularly with regard to the Fellows' want of attention to the King's letter.

The whole story then came out. John Lothian, the Senior Fellow, was a Scotchman, and had obtained his Fellowship by Royal Mandate from James I., not being an Englishman as the Statutes required. He suggested to Crichton, also a Scotchman, and not a graduate in Divinity as the Statutes required, that he should get a Royal Mandate for the Mastership. This was on Sunday evening, the evening of the Master's death. Master Crichton immediately took horse, went to his countryman the Duke of Lennox, and actually got the Royal Letter before noon on Monday. It was "given at our Court at Theobald's"; so it may be that Crichton only rode so far towards London through Stortford as to Cheshunt. But, even so, it was very quick work. More curious still, inasmuch as there was no Secretary of State at hand, Mr. Crichton himself composed and penned the Royal Letter in his own favour, drawing it so as to authorise the Fellows to elect him notwithstanding his want of qualification, but—with a modesty remarkable considering its setting-not to command them to do so unless they desired it of their own free will. He even went so far as to date the letter July 7, though he got it on the 5th, and the election was fixed for the 6th.

With this remarkable document Master Crichton came slowly and quietly back to Cambridge on Tuesday evening and went to see Lothian. Lothian had cannily held his tongue about Crichton at the election, and had associated himself with his colleagues in the unanimous

election of Dr. Brownrigge. He explained eventually to the Vice-Chancellor and Heads that it was of no use acting otherwise, for if Crichton came back without a mandate nothing more would be heard of him, and if he obtained a positive mandate the election would go for nothing. Crichton in turn explained to them that he had drawn the letter as he did because he did not desire to have the office unless a majority of the Fellows wished to have him. He told them that, after meeting Lothian on the Tuesday evening, he determined not to mention the King's letter to any one else, regarding it as merely permissive; he had not been moved by Lothian's advice that he should get a second and peremptory letter.

The Fellows were, of course, held free from all responsibility of obedience to a letter they had never seen, and Dr. Brownrigge was duly admitted to the Mastership. Quaintly enough, it fell to the ingenious and secretive Mr. Lothian to admit him.

It ought, in justice to Mr. Crichton, to be said of him that he had great merit as Orator of the University. On no less than two occasions, three years before these events, it is specially told of him that he "made a short speech." Inasmuch as the King was present on each occasion, and had to stand throughout the speech, we can understand that he was high in the King's favour.

Dr. Brownrigge was loyal and remained loyal to the King. In this same year (1635) he was one of the contributors to congratulatory verses on the birth of Princess Elizabeth, who died of grief for her father's death in 1650.

The College accounts were not well kept after Mr. Bucke's death. Daniel Milles—though a Parliament

man, intruded into a Fellowship—praises Brownrigge in glowing terms, with six superlatives, ranging from eleven to fifteen letters each, specially praising him as "in re collegiali prudentissimus ac diligentissimus," "ad maxima quæque negotia aptus"; but it is a fact that we have no title-deeds or conveyance of a highly important property in his time, and no trace of the receipt or expenditure of nine benefactions of money which are known from other sources to have come to the College. Probably they paid for the property.

The important property referred to was no other than the house of Thomas Hobson, and the stable in which "Hobson's choice" was the law. The well-known carrier, Thomas Hobson,* died on New Year's Day, 1630, aged eighty-six, leaving his house to his grandson Thomas. It passed into the possession of the College, how we do not know, in 1637. Its ownership can be traced through more than three generations of Hobsons; the furthest point that can be reached finds it in the

* There is a fine engraving of Thomas Hobson with ruff and cloak, and a great hat the under part of which is supposed to be hand-etched for specially deep shade in the copy possessed by the present writer. He has at his girdle a large leather bag, stuffed full; the fingers of his right hand are in the mouth of the bag. Below the portrait are the lines written for him, it is said, by John Milton:

"MR. HOBSON

Obüt año 1630 Vixit annos 86.

"Laugh not to see so plaine a Man in print,
The shadow's homely, yet ther's something in 't,
Witnes the Bagg he wear's though seeming poore
The fertile Mother of a thousand more:
He was a thriueing Man, through lawfull Gaine,
And wealthy grew by warrantable paine;
Then laugh at them that spend, not them yt gather,
Like thriueing Sonnes of such a thrifty Father.
"Cum privilegio. Are to be soud by F. Stent. I Payne fecit."

possession of Corpus Christi College. The present Chapel, the north-east corner of the grass-plot, the northern half of the grove, and all the cobbled spaces intervening, are the site of Hobson's house and yard and stables.

The Hobsons and the Cooks before them had been great innholders and carriers for many years. tradition of Thomas Hobson is that he was the first to keep a considerable number of horses for hire by undergraduates. The number he kept is said to have been forty, and his rule was that, when a man came into the stable to choose the horse he would have to ride, he had always to choose the horse which had been longest in the stable, whence the pleasantry of "Hobson's choice." Now the business of a carrier in those days meant the storing for a time of a large amount of material, and Hobson must have had a considerable range of buildings to accommodate these collections of goods, and also very large stabling to accommodate forty horses. It may be taken as practically certain that he stored his goods in the loft above his stable. The ordinary allowance of width for a horse was 6 feet, for a cow 5 feet; thus forty horses standing head to head—as no doubt they did—i.e., twenty on each side, should have a stable 120 feet long. It is a striking coincidence, only discovered after the present writer had made these calculations, that in the plan of Cambridge by Georgius Braunius in 1575, and in Hammond's plan seventeen years later, a long building is shown running westwards from the back of Hobson's house in High Street, i.e., Trumpington Street—as far as the old quadrangle of St. Catharine's, but marked by Braunius as completely separate from the College, and the length is

120 feet. We may fairly say that this building, shown as an important building of more than one storey, is the famous stable of "Hobson's choice." Thomas Hobson was thirty-one years old at the date of Braunius's plan, and forty-eight when Hammond's plan was published.

XIII. John Hills, 1607–1626, was a Fellow of the College, born at Fulbourn, Cambs. He served the office of Vice-Chancellor in 1616. His College relations with the Fellows were far from pleasant, as appears from page 93. He appears to have been at variance with the Fellows on political questions, for in 1626 he voted for the Duke of Buckingham for Chancellor, Goodwin, Pern, and Arrowsmith of course voting for his opponent, the Earl of Berkshire. He was more successful outside, and was made Prebendary of Lincoln in 1609, Archdeacon of Stow in 1610, and Archdeacon of Lincoln in 1612. He died in September 1626, and was buried at Horseheath, Cambs.

XIV. Richard Sibbs (variously spelled), 1626-1635, D.D., not a Fellow of the College. Omnium quos præsens ætas viderit vir pientissimus, concionator mellitissimus; so says our Parliamentarian Fellow, Daniel Milles, who impartially, and still more superlatively, praises his successor, Ralph Brownrigge. Sibbs was Scholar and Fellow of St. John's; Master of St. Catharine's 1626. Fuller says of him (Worthies, Suffolk):

"He found the House in a mean condition, the Wheel of St. Katharine having stood still (not to say gone backwards) for some years together: he left it replenished with scholars, beautified with buildings, better endowed with revenues.

Izaak Walton wrote of him;

"Of this blest man let this just praise be given, Heaven was in him before he was in heaven,"

He was born 1577, became College Preacher 1609, was made Lecturer at Holy Trinity Church, Cambridge, 1610; was deprived of his offices by the High Commission in 1615 for Puritanism; and was made Preacher at Gray's Inn 1617. That office he held till his death in 1635. He was twice offered the Provostship of Trinity College, Dublin. In 1628 he was reprimanded by the High Commission for petitioning in favour of the Protestants in the Palatinate; and in the election of John Ellis he yielded to the authorities, saying that "Lambeth House would be obeyed." In 1633 he was presented by the Crown to Holy Trinity Church, Cambridge, where he had been Lecturer twenty-three years before. He was an opponent of Arminianism. His works are very numerous, filling 6 vols. 8vo. (Edinburgh, 1862).

XV. Ralph Brownrigge, 1635-1645, born at Ipswich 1592, died 1659. He entered at Pembroke in 1606, at the age of 14, and was elected to a Fellowship before reaching the statutable age, the College desiring "to make sure of him." Fuller knew him personally and highly praises his wit, a wit kept in good order, "to obey, not to direct his judgment." Fuller was well competent to express an opinion. Curiously enough, James I. and his courtiers, who none of them exercised their wit in that decent way, were charmed with his performance as Jocoserius or Prævaricator when the King visited Cambridge—" such luxuriancy of wit consistent with innocency." He became Rector of Barley* (Herts) and Prebendary of Ely, and from that position he was made Master of St. Catharine's. Further preferment came, but he continued to hold his Mastership.

^{*} Or of Bartlow.

He became in succession Prebendary of Lichfield, Archdeacon of Coventry, Prebendary of Durham, and, in 1641, Bishop of Exeter. This did not prevent his holding the Vice-Chancellorship of Cambridge in 1643—a fortunate thing for the University, for that was the year of the Earl of Manchester's visitation, and Brownrigge, though a staunch friend of the Church, was on excellent terms with the Presbyterians, and was a determined Calvinist. An evidence of his favour with the party to which in fact he did not belong is afforded by the fact that he was made a member of the Assembly of Divines. But he was spoiled in time of his church preferments and retained only his Mastership. That went soon, for having to preach before the University in 1645, he preached a manful sermon on the Royalist side, and he was deprived. It must never be forgotten of him that in his retirement at Sunning in Berkshire, itself in Anglo-Saxon times the seat of a bishop, he continued to ordain clergy, among those whom he thus ordained being Edward Stillingfleet. Thomas Rich maintained him at Sunning. In 1658 the Middle and Inner Temples begged him to come and live among them and preach to them, and he acceded to their request. There he lived for about a year, and there he His sermons attracted large crowds, but with our modern tastes we can scarcely understand the state of society in which that could be so. They are immensely long, very full of matter, very keen in looking into all possible meanings of the words of Scripture, very difficult reading. His views, held very firmly, were a curious compound of the two sides, just what was wanted for the time that had very nearly come when he died. There can be very little doubt that if he had lived two or three years longer (he died December 7, 1659), his good repute among men to whom the restoration of Episcopacy was a great trial, while the restoration of the Sovereignty was acceptable, and his well-known staunchness for the Church and the Prayer Book, would have caused him to be set in some very high place, and would have enabled him to fill it with much profit to Church and to State.

From his Life in Lloyd's Memoires,* we learn that when he was Master of the College the buildings, the revenues, the students, and the studiousness of the place increased by his care and diligence. He overlooked none, frequented the studies, and examined even the younger scholars. He kept to the doctrine, worship, devotion, and government of the Church of England, which he liked better and better as he grew older. The Liturgy he loved (1) from the honour and piety of its martyr-like composers; (2) for its excellent matter and prudent method; (3) for the good he saw in it to all sober Christians, the want of which he saw was not supplied by any minister's private praying and preaching. Oliver Protector asked his judgment on some public affairs:

'My lord, the best counsel I can give is that of our Saviour, "Render unto Cæsar the things that be Cæsar's, and unto God the things that be God's." With which free answer Oliver Protector was rather silenced than satisfied. He was very comely. No one ever became the Preacher's Pulpit, or the Doctor's Chair, or the Episcopal Seat, better than he.

XVI. William Spurstow, 1645-1650, was the son and heir of William Spurstow, Citizen and Mercer of

^{*} Pp. 405, &c.

London. He graduated at Emmanuel College in 1626, and became a Fellow of St. Catharine's, holding his Fellowship till early in 1638. He became at that time Rector of Great Hampden, and to his intimacy with John Hampden his success has been attributed. 1641 he joined with Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy the elder, Thomas Young, and Matthew Newcomen in the publication of "An Humble Remonstrance," by Smectymnuus, a book which took its name from the initials of the five writers, the UUS being Spurstow's initials. The remonstrance was against the doctrine of the divine right of episcopacy, but it allowed the use of episcopacy of a more primitive type than that to which they were accustomed. It is an interesting fact that of the other authors, Edmund Calamy sent his second son Benjamin to St. Catharine's, where he became a very successful tutor, and also his third son James; and Matthew Newcomen, who was protected by the influence of John Knowles our Tutor, sent his son Stephen to the College in 1660. Newcomen and Calamy had married two sisters.

Spurstow was in the original list of members of the Assembly of Divines in 1643. In 1645 he was made Master of St. Catharine's by the Assembly on the ejection of Brownrigge. In 1648 he was one of the Commissioners to treat with Charles I. in the Isle of Wight, and is said to have spoken severely to the King. He was, however, strongly opposed to the trial of Charles. In 1649 his own turn came: he could not take the engagement to the existing government "without King and House of Lords," and he was deprived of his Mastership, which went to Lightfoot. On the Restoration, Spurstow, along with Calamy and New-

comen, became a Royal chaplain,* and he was a member of the Savoy Conference; but he did not accept the Act of Uniformity, and resigned his preferments. He appears to have been a kindly and agreeable man. We have an entry in the College expenses for 1664, creditable to all concerned: "For the entertainment of Dr. Spurstow, £2 12s. 0d."

We may note that Joseph Spurstow entered at Catharine as a Fellow Commoner in 1634, and Robert Spurstow, also as a Fellow Commoner, in 1663.

XVII. John Lightfoot, 1650-1675, was son of the Vicar of Uttoxeter and was born in 1602. He entered at Christ's College in 1617 and took his B.A. degree there. His tutor thought him the best orator of all the undergraduates in the town. It is a thing much to be regretted that the Colleges now take so very little care, if any, to see that their men are trained to be effective in public speech. He was ordained soon after his degree. In 1628 he married and went to live at Hornsey, in order to be near the library of Sion College, returning to Staffordshire in 1630, and going up to London again in 1642 as a member of the Assembly of Divines. In that body he played an important part. It was he who in 1643 persuaded the ministers of London not to abstain from preaching on Christmas Day as had been proposed. He opposed on learned grounds those who assigned the power of ruling to lay elders, and maintained that a court composed of presbyters and lay elders was not competent to decide some Against an argument that ecclesiastical matters. widows were Church officers he spoke with ability and

^{*} For Dr. Lightfoot's offer to retire from the Mastership in his favour, Dr. Brownrigge being dead, see p. 131.

force. He was opposed to the election of ministers by the people, which some had supported by a false interpretation of $\chi \epsilon \iota \rho o \tau o \nu i a$. He spoke against a declaration which cast a slur upon set forms of prayer. He opposed those who would have dipping in baptism, and also those who desired to make a declaration that sprinkling was lawful, a declaration quite unnecessary as he maintained. He carried his point in an equally divided assembly, and the order an in his words, that sprinkling is not only lawful but also sufficient.

He was made Rector of Much Munden, Herts, in 1643; and when at the Restoration a Fellow of a College obtained a grant of the living, his friend Sir Henry Cæsar warned him of it, and Archbishop Sheldon got him confirmed in the Rectory. He became Master of Catharine in 1650, on the extrusion of William Spurstow, and was Vice-Chancellor in 1655. His affections were still with his parishioners in the country, and he grudged time spent away from his russet-coats. Some years before his death he was made a Prebendary of Ely, and there, in December 1675, he died. The College laid out £6 10s. upon his funeral.

Besides his Horæ Hebraicæ, dedicated to the students of Catharine Hall, whom in letters to foreigners he spoke of affectionately as Catharinenses mei, and many other learned works, Lightfoot had a large share in three great books: Walton's Polyglot Bible, Castell's Lexicon Heptaglotton, and Pool's Synopsis Criticorum.

As Vice-Chancellor he made a remarkable oration, in which he gave thanks to God that the violent purposes of seizing the possessions of the Colleges and turning the students adrift had been over-ruled.

"What would England have been, if her eyes, the Universities and the Clergy to wit, had been put out! What Cambridge would have been without Cambridge! What a spectre of a dead University, what a skeleton of empty Colleges, what a funeral of the Muses and carcase of deceased Literature!"

Strype says, "The College was, it is true,

"small, and illy built, but yet was so blessed by God, that it could boast of many famous and excellent Divines and Prelates of the Church of England, and other very worthy men, formerly members of it; and was usually stored with such number of students, that they could hardly be contained within the walls of the College. For the honour, therefore, of it, as well as its necessary enlargement, this our Master and the Fellows resolved to pull down at least some part of it, and to build it with more decency, capacity, and advantage. Towards which, as every Fellow presently laid down twenty pounds, so our Doctor gave a very liberal and generous contribution, and, moreover, was instrumental by his interest with his friends to procure good benefactions for the same use by others."

Among such, Strype mentions Sir Orlando Bridgman, who delighted, when on circuit, in Lightfoot's sermons, by reason of their learned and unusual notions; and among others Sir Rowland Cotton, of Shropshire, and Out of affection for these last, he Sir John Jackson. called his second son Anastasius Cottonus Jacksonus.

The editor of his works, Dr. George Bright, tells us, from his own remembrance, that, when in the University itself the use of the Lord's Prayer was generally laid aside, Dr. Lightfoot did in the University Church, where he seldom omitted to preach in his course, both produce and discourse his own opinion, concerning the obligations to use the form of it in public; and accordingly to testify his more than ordinary assurance and zeal, recited it both before and after his sermon.

Dr. Philpott, to whom the performance of the duties of any office which he held was the first thing in life, remarks of Dr. Lightfoot: "He must have been a very bad Master of the College: shutting himself up at his country living, and buried in literary labours of small value."

CHAPTER XIII

Shirley the dramatist, Bancroft the "small poet," Thomas Goodwin, John Arrowsmith, John Knowles, John Bond, William Strong, Ralph Robinson, John Ellis, Hatton Rich, Oliver Cromwell, Henry Hickman, John Ray and the Willoughbys, Nathaniel Bacon.

James Shirley, the dramatist, born about 1594, was a Member of the College. He had entered at St. John's, Oxford, from Merchant 'Taylors' School, and preferring Cambridge he naturally came to St. Catharine's, which had close relations with the City Companies. Bancroft, "the small poet," was in the College at the same time with him; one of Bancroft's epigrams speaks of "some precious years" spent with Shirley, "under St. Catharine's wheel." Shirley was in Orders, and Master of the Grammar School at St. Albans; but becoming a Roman Catholic, devoted himself to the production of plays. The critics count him as the last of the dramatists who intersperses beautiful poetic figures and passages in their dramas, ad Shakspere had done, and hold that next to Shakspere no one did it better. He believed the Cardinal to be the best of his flock, as a tragedy, and in this the critics seem to agree, naming also the Traitor. The tragi-comedy the Royal Master, and the comedy the Gamester, are considered his best works in those departments. He was a very prolific writer. In politics he was a great loyalist, taking part with the Earl of Newcastle up to the battle of Marston Moor. He

lived to the time of the Great Fire. When it broke out, he and his wife were driven by it from Whitefriars to St. Giles, then "in the fields." There in less than two months they died on the same day, "overcome with affrightments, disconsolations, and other miseries, occasioned by that fire and their losses."

The "small poet," Thomas Bancroft, who was at St. Catharine's with Shirley, was very short in stature, and his verses were in the main short epigrams; whence, no doubt, his name. Among other poems, he published two Books of Epigrams and Epitaphs, dedicated to "two top-branches of Gentry, Sir Charles Shirley, Bart., and William Davenport, Esq." The epigrams and epitaphs celebrate many men of letters, Sidney, Shakspere, Ben Jonson, Donne, Shirley, the Beaumonts, &c. In 1649 he wrote a poem "to the neverdying memory of the noble Lord Hastings." In 1658 he was living in retirement at Bradley, near Ashbourne in Derbyshire, and when he died we do not know.

Thomas Goodwin migrated in 1619 to St. Catharine's from Christ's College, where he had graduated B.A. three years before. In 1628 he was elected Lecturer of Trinity Church, Cambridge, in spite of the opposition of the Bishop of Ely; and in 1632 he became Vicar of that church. In 1634 he withdrew from the ministry of the Church of England and left Cambridge. He was a member of the Assembly of Divines, and was one of the committee of five who met the Scottish Commissioners to draw up a directory. He was one of the six dissenters from the opinions of the majority of the Assembly on Church Government, and in 1648 he acted as their leader. In January 1650 he was made President of Magdalen, Oxford, by order of Parliament,

with power to nominate fellows and scholars. Goodwin attended Oliver Cromwell on his death-bed. Burnet, on the direct authority of Tillotson, whose wife was the daughter of Oliver's sister Robina, says that at a family fast at Whitehall, a week after Cromwell's death, Thomas Goodwin, who had asserted in prayer a few minutes before the death that the Protector was not to die, "had now the impudence to say to God: Thou hast deceived us and we were deceived."* Goodwin's associate, Sterry, then proceeded to pray for Richard Cromwell, using "these indecent words, next to blasphemy, make him the brightness of the father's glory, and the express image of his person."

In May 1660 Goodwin was deprived of the Presidency of Magdalen by the Convention, and for the rest of his life resided in London. He was burned out in the fire of 1666, but lived for fourteen years more. Those of his writings which were printed filled five folio volumes. One of his sermons has had a curious fate. It had as its subject the Heart of Christ, and to it several writers have traced the modern cult of the Sacred Heart.

The Spectator of September 26, 1712, No. 494, has a delightful story of Goodwin's conduct as President of Magdalen. It is à propos of the remark that the saint of a previous generation "was of a sorrowful countenance, and generally eaten up with spleen and melancholy." Anthony Henley, who had died the year before, had often told the story to Steele. He went to Magdalen to try for a demyship, and was summoned to

^{*} The words of Jeremiah (xx. 7), are "Thou hast deceived me, and I was deceived." Goodwin appears to have avoided the singular pronouns.

the President to be examined. A typical servant of a gloomy generation conducted him through a long gallery, darkened at noon-day, with only a single candle lighted in it. Thence he was taken to a chamber hung with black, with a glimmering taper as its only illumination. Presently Goodwin came in, "with half-adozen nightcaps on his head,* and religious horror in his countenance." He asked him, "Was he of the number of the elect? What was the occasion of his conversion? Upon what day of the month and hour of the day it happened? How it was carried on, and how completed?" Then he suddenly asked, "Was he ready to die?" "The boy, who had been bred up by honest parents, was frighted out of his wits at the solemnity of the proceeding, and by the last dreadful interrogatory." He escaped, and declined a second visit.

John Arrowsmith, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, had graduated at St. John's in 1619, and was twenty-two years of age when he became Fellow of St. Catharine's. He vacated his Fellowship by marriage in 1631, and held a benefice at King's Lynn. He was a member of the Westminster Assembly, and a very stout Puritan. He was appointed to the Regius Professorship of Divinity in 1644; and to the Mastership of St. John's in the same year, on the expulsion of William Beale, whom Oliver Cromwell captured in the College Chapel and carried off to London. In 1653 Arrowsmith became Master of Trinity. He died in that office in 1659, having vacated the Regius Professorship in 1656.

John Knowles entered at Magdalene, was elected Fellow of St. Catharine's 1627, and had great repute as

^{*} In his portrait Goodwin is wearing two skull-caps.

a tutor. His colleagues were Thomas Goodwin, John Arrowsmith, William Spurstow, William Strong, and others of like pronounced opinions. He voted with Sibbs for Laud's nominee, John Ellis, as Fellow, and afterwards greatly regretted it. In 1635 he was made Lecturer at Colchester, and when there got Matthew Newcomen appointed to succeed the noted Puritan, John Rogers, as Vicar of Dedham. Knowles in several ways opposed Laud, was reprimanded, threatened, finally his licence was revoked. He left Colchester in 1637, and in 1639 embarked for New England. Virginia he was prohibited from public preaching, on the ground that he would not wear a surplice or use the Book of Common Prayer. He returned in 1651, when, it is said, he found forty-seven of his former pupils at St. Catharine's members of Parliament or of the Assembly of Divines.* He was appointed Lecturer in the Cathedral at Bristol, where the Quakers much opposed him. On December 17, 1654, Elizabeth Marshall, a Quakeress, was sent to prison for delivering a "message" to Knowles after his sermon; on June 20, 1657, his sermon in All Hallows Church was disturbed by Nathanael Milner; and on October 6, 1659, Thomas Jones was committed for assailing Knowles's door with a choppingknife. At the Restoration he lost his Bristol appointment, and went to London, where in 1661 he lectured at All-Hallows-the-Great on Mondays, Wednesdays,

^{*} Cotton Mather (Magnalia Christi Americana, ii. 216), sacrifices fact to the play of fancy. "If New England hath been in some respects Immanuel's land, it is well; but this I am sure of, Immanuel College contributed more than a little to make it so, a Fellow whereof once was our Mr. John Knowles." He suggests as Knowles's epitaph this modest utterance: Vis scire Quis sim? Nomen est Knowlesius. Dixi Satis.

and Fridays. The Act of Uniformity silenced him. During the great plague of 1665 he was assiduous in his attention to the sufferers. He died in 1685.

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John Bond, born 1612, died 1676, B.A. 1631. significant of the character of St. Catharine's that Dennis Bond entered his son there. Dennis was returned to Parliament for Dorchester, with Denzil Holles, in 1640, and was "very severe and resolved against the Church and the Court." He was one of the Commissioners appointed to try the King, but did not act. Under the Commonwealth his knowledge of trade made him a leading member of the committees which managed such affairs. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, but his remains were exhumed in 1661, and placed in St. Margaret's churchyard; he was the Bond whose death on August 30, 1658, four days before Cromwell's death, gave rise to the saying that the devil had taken Bond for Oliver's appearance. His staunchness against the Church and the Crown made it certain that his son John, who was an able man, would be put into important positions. He was made a Member of the Assembly of Divines in 1643, and Master of the Savoy in 1645, in succession to John White, who had trained him as a boy. In the Survey of Church Livings in Middlesex,* by the Parliamentary Commission in 1649 and 1650, under the head of the Savoy, he is reported as "a godly, preaching, and painful minister, who hath for these seven or eight years preached each Lord's Day in the morning." In 1646 the Fellows of Trinity Hall elected Dr. King as their Master, but the Parliament

^{*} Printed from the MS. record, in the Home Counties' Magazine (F. E. Robinson & Co.), volumes i. ii. and iii., by the Bishop of Bristol and Mr. W. J. Hardy. The reference in the text is to vol. i. p. 113.

interfered, and they were made to elect Bond. In 1649 he became Professor of Law at Gresham College. In 1658 he was elected Vice-Chancellor. At the Restoration he lost all his preferments, and retired to his ancestral county, Dorset, where his family had long held—and still hold—an estate in the Isle of Purbeck. He died in 1676.

William Strong, of Durham, took his degree at the College, and was "præ-elected" to a Fellowship on December 10,1631, a day or two before Laud's nominee, John In 1634 he was suspended from all his degrees, and banished the University by the Vice-Chancellor, for contumacy in not appearing to answer a charge. In 1640 he became Rector of Moore Critchell, Dorset, but was driven out by Royalists in 1643. He then went to London, and frequently preached before Parliament. On December 31, 1645, the Commons appointed him to the Westminster Assembly, to succeed Edward Peale. On October 14, 1647, he became Minister of St. Dunstan's West. On December 9, 1650, he became Pastor of a congregation of Independents, many of them members of Parliament, to whom he preached in Westminster Abbey. On July 29, 1652, he was put on a commission for choosing godly ministers to be sent to preach in Ireland. He preached a sermon at Westminster, in July 1653, "against the liberty of the times as introducing Popery," which attracted attention. died in middle life, June 1654, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, July 4; but on the Restoration, his remains, with many others, were thrown into a pit in St. Margaret's churchyard. His wife, Damaris, survived him.

Ralph Robinson took his B.A. degree in 1638. On

the strength of his preaching he was invited to St. Mary Woolnoth, Lombard Street, and there received Presbyterian orders, about 1642. He was scribe to the first assembly of provincial ministers, held in London in 1647, and joined in their protest against the King's death in 1649. On June 11, 1651, he was arrested as concerned in the conspiracy of Christopher Love, and kept in the Tower till October, when his trial was ordered. It is not known to have taken place. He died June 15, 1655, and was buried in the chancel of St. Mary Woolnoth, June 18. His funeral sermon was preached by Simeon Ashe.

John Ellis was Chaplain to Archbishop Abbot. He took the side of the Parliament. In 1647 he wrote a book which was very keenly criticised, Vindiciae Catholicae, an argument for particular churches as against "one Catholic visible governing church," and in favour of Presbytery. On the eve of the Restoration he published retractions, repentings, and bewaylings, for having fomented the late unnatural divisions in State and Church, and for his disputation in Vindiciae Catholicae. The result was that he retained his living and received additions to it. Hickman, who had been with him at Catharine, attacked him violently in the work referred to in the account of that member of the College.

There are two John Ellises in the list of Fellows of the College. One was a Cambro-Briton, præ-elected December 15, 1631; the other was a Yorkshireman, præ-elected December 17, 1634, on the same day with John Bond of Dorset.

Sir John Claypoole (variously spelled), of Northborrow, Northants, gave in 1613, as we have seen, money to erect buildings, called the Claypoole Buildings, the rents to maintain scholars. He was one of those who refused to pay shipmoney. His son was the John Claypoole who married Elizabeth Cromwell about the year 1646, and was made a baronet by Cromwell in 1657. This younger John was not personally a Puritan, being indeed "a debauched ungodly Cavalier"; but he held command in the Puritan army, and was allowed to marry Cromwell's daughter. Robert Rich, who married Cromwell's youngest daughter Frances, was the nephew of our Hatton Rich. A tragic combination of sorrows fell upon these families in 1658. In February, two months after his marriage, Rich died. In June, Elizabeth Claypoole's youngest son died; all that summer Elizabeth herself was stricken by a sore malady, and in August she died at Hampton Court. In September, Oliver himself died.

Hatton Rich entered as a nobleman at St. Catharine's in 1639, the year in which two benefactors entered, namely, Matthew Scrivener and Samuel Franckland. He was the fourth son of Robert Rich, second Earl of Warwick of James I.'s creation, and fourth Baron Rich. He took his name from his mother, Frances Hatton. He died unmarried, having seen his greatuncle Charles, Earl of Holland, beheaded in 1649 for taking up arms for the restoration of Charles.

In the two years 1640 and 1641, the entries in which are not kept separate in the books, sixty-two men entered at the College, thirteen being Fellow-Commoners, thirty-six Pensioners, and thirteen Sizars. Among the Fellow-Commoners was Oliver St. John, the Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas, one of Cromwell's Commissioners for the University in 1654. Among the Pensioners we find Oliver Cromwell, from Huntingdon.

This Oliver Cromwell was the second son of the future Protector, who married in 1620 and settled at Huntingdon. He was baptized February 6, 1623, and was, therefore, seventeen or eighteen years of age when he entered; his father entered at the age of seventeen. He did not stay long at St. Catharine's, for in 1642 his father joined the Earl of Essex's army as a captain in Lord St. John's troop of horse, and young Oliver was a cornet in the same troop, being at that time the oldest surviving son, Robert having died in May 1639. After fighting at Edgehill, he died of small-pox in garrison at Newport Pagnell in March 1644, aged twenty-one. He was "a civil young gentleman, and the joy of his father"; but it was of Robert's death that the Protector spoke so pathetically near his own end, "and when my eldest son died, it went as a dagger to my heart, indeed it did."

Henry Hickman was another of the nonconformists whom the College educated. He proceeded B.A. at the College, and in 1647 migrated to Magdalen Hall, Oxford. The Parliamentary Visitors put him into a demyship and a Fellowship at Magdalen College, and there he proceeded M.A. and B.D., and was licensed as a preacher. He was ejected from the College at the Restoration, and settled at Leyden, where he preached for some years and then entered upon the study of medicine. He died in 1692. He was a hot writer in defence of nonconformity, and among his opponents was Matthew Scrivener, of Catharine Hall. The most interesting of his controversies was that on Ordination. He wrote an "Apologia pro ministris ejectis, vulgo Nonconformistis."

John Ray, the famous naturalist, son of a blacksmith

called Wray or Reay, entered at Catharine Hall in 1644. Two years later he migrated to Trinity, and was elected to a Fellowship at the same time with Isaac Barrow. As a layman he preached in 1658 the funeral sermon of the Master of Trinity, Dr. Arrowsmith, formerly of Catharine Hall. He was ordained in 1660, but resigned his Fellowship and the exercise of his ministry in 1662, thinking that the subscription then required was not possible for those who had taken the covenant.

It is unnecessary to enter upon the well-known details of his scientific career. His patron and scientific ally was Francis Willoughby,* of Middleton Hall, in Warwickshire, and when Willoughby died in 1672 Ray had charge of his sons. The eldest, Francis, was created a baronet in 1677, being then only eight years of age, and entered at Catharine as a nobleman in 1682; he died in 1688, and was succeeded by his brother Thomas, the ancestor of the present Baron Middleton, who had entered at Catharine as a Fellow-Commoner in 1683.

There is a portrait said to be of Ray in the Hall, said to be seated in the chair of the Royal Society.†

Nathaniel Bacon, son of Thomas Bacon of Friston Hall, Suffolk, entered Fellow Commoner at St. Catharine's in 1660, and in 1664 entered Student at Gray's Inn. In 1673 he married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Edward Duke of Benhall, Suffolk; George Duke had entered F.C. the generation before, in 1634. His father set him up with stock worth £1800, and he went with his young wife to Virginia, where the King's Commissioners reported him as "indifferent tall, slender, black haired, of an ominous melancholy aspect." He found

^{*} Spelled in our books Willughby. † See p. 258.

his cousin Nathaniel Bacon a member of the governor's council, "a rich politic man."

Our Nathaniel settled on the plantation still known as Curle's, twenty miles below Richmond, not far from the Indian frontier. His "outward plantation," on the brook still called Bacon's Quarter Branch, had been ravaged by the Indians, and his neighbour's servants had been killed. A letter from his wife Elizabeth to one of the Friston Bacons gives the key to his future history:

"The Indians are killing the people daily, and the governor is not taking any notice of it for to hinder them, but let them daily doe all the mischief they can . . . and the poor people came to your brother to desire him to help them against the Indians . . . so hee begged of the Governour for a Commission in severall letters to him, that hee might goe out against them, but hee would not grant one, so daily more mischief done by them, so your brother not able to endure any longer hee went out without a Commission."

Bacon was persuaded to visit a camp of volunteers. They acclaimed him their commander, and he became, as he signed himself in his Declaration, "Generall by the consent of the people," and at the same time a Rebell. The Governor was Sir William Berkeley, who visited his plantation when he was "out," and informed Mrs. Betty Bacon that her husband would be hanged when he returned.

In the end, Bacon was arrested. He signed a full apology, drafted by the elder Nathaniel, and was restored to his seat on the Council; the long-desired commission was granted but not signed. He discovered that the Governor was about to have him arrested again, and he

fled by night. Open war resulted, and Bacon's forces overcame the Governor's men. In a parley he declared, with what is euphemistically described as a "Restoration oath," better not recorded here, "I came for a commission, and a commission I will have before I go. I'll kill governor and council and assembly, and then I'll sheath my sword in my own heart's blood. Fusiliers, make ready! present!" He extorted a satisfactory commission for himself as major-general, and thirty commissions in blank for officers to serve under him.

It was still, however, war, and a second time he took Jamestown, this time burning it. But he was seized with dysentery as the result of his work in the pestiferous trenches, and died October 26, 1676. Lest his body should ever be exhumed and hung on a gibbet, the place of his burial was concealed. A tradition that his friends placed stones in the coffin is understood to mean that his remains were sunk in the estuary of York River.

In some respects he foreshadowed the American Revolution of a hundred years later. He combined administrative qualities with unfailing resource; and he has not unfitly been called the Virginian Hampden.

In such books as the "Life of Baxter," many other Catharine Hall men receive honourable mention from the Puritan point of view; for instance, H. Hawes, in Brownrigge's time; John Crow, vicar of Ashwell, where he was succeeded by Dr. Cudworth; John Wilson, of considerable learning and an author; and S. Brookes, a learned man, a great scholar and divine.

CHAPTER XIV

Expulsion of the Master and all the Fellows by the Parliament—The new Master and Fellows—Appeal to the Lord Protector for an increase in the value of the Mastership—The Restoration—Admirable conduct of Lightfoot and the Fellows—Death of Mr. Bucke—Woorts, of Worts' Causeway and the travelling Bachelorship—Latest expenditure on Woodlark's buildings—Fuller's remarks on Aula Bella, as then completed—Scholars of the College condemned to death—The Calamys—Sir Thomas Rokeby.

On December 26, 1643, the College was visited by the notorious Mr. Dowsing. The records of that person's destructive visits to one church and chapel after another, with the tearing down of pictures, defacing of monuments, and smashing of ancient glass, which he and his party effected, make us wonder at the submissiveness of the times. We almost give the verdict that if no one could be found to be put a stop to Mr. Dowsing, at whatever cost, the Church people fairly deserved what they suffered. His diary is of more than usual interest in its record of his visit to us, for it shows us our Master, Ralph Brownrigge, at least facing him. "We pulled down St. George and the Dragon and the popish St. Catharine. Dr. Brownrigg, Master and a Bishop, maintained that more reverence was due to a place called a Church than to any other place, and that the communion cup ought not to be used on any other account whatsoever. We also broke down John Baptist there, and these words, Orate pro anima suaqui fecit hanc fenestram, i.e., Pray for the soul of him that made this window."

^{* &}quot;Baumgartner Papers," i. 87 (University Library, Strype Correspondence). The Strype Correspondence was collected by

God to provide so well for cousin John that he is gone to another Colligh. I hoop that is not so superstishus as the other."

In 1658 they entered in the College accounts a sum of 10s. "for a reference from the Lord Protector to the Justices about the augmentation of the Mastership"; some succeeding hand crossed out the words "Lord Protector," especially obliterating the word "Lord."

The proposed augmentation of the Mastership, of which mention has here been made, would have been in accordance with an Act passed some years before, assigning £2000 a year from tithes for such augmentation in the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. A list of the sums to be allotted to thirteen of the Cambridge Colleges had been prepared, with a statement, in most cases, of the actual values of the Masterships. The Mastership of St. Catharine's is stated to be worth £22 13s. 4d., less than half the value in any other College. It was to receive an augmentation of £90 a year, raising it to £112 13s. 4d., which would compare well enough with some of the other incomes when augmented, such as Queens', £118 3s. 3d.; Corpus, £120; Caius and Sidney, £130.

When at last the great change came, and "the King received his own again," the intruded Master, Dr. Lightfoot, paid a visit to his extruded predecessor, and confessing himself an intruder, restored the Mastership into his hands. But his predecessor was living a country life in his old age, and did not wish to return to the Lodge; he declared the office, so far as he was concerned, void. The six Fellows thereupon met and unanimously elected

Samuel Knight, who entered Sizar at Catharine in 1695, and at one time meditated a history of "that fruitful little seminary,"

as Master their late intruded Head, Dr. Lightfoot; and hearing of his intention to return to Cambridge, they took horse, met him some miles outside the town, and brought him back with joy; a most creditable proceeding for all concerned. The six Fellows deserve to have their names mentioned. Only one remained of the intruded Fellows, namely, John Slader. The others, with the dates of their elections, were as follows: 1655, Gervase Fullwood; 1657, Samuel Brunning; 1658, John Eachard; 1659, Hugh Everard; 1662, Thomas Paget. Slader was made Proctor next year, and was therefore a trusted friend of the Restoration, as were so many of the persons intruded by the Commonwealth. were heartily tired of it all; this, much more than any special liking for Charles or James, brought back the King.

The persistent benefactor and builder, Thomas Bucke, who had been elected Fellow so long ago as March 16, 1615, died in 1670. He had for many years ceased to be a Fellow of the College, but his benefactions had never ceased.

Mr. Bucke had been one of the Esquire Bedells since 1624. He was succeeded in that office by Mr. William Woorts, of Gonville and Caius, B.A. 1662. This gentleman has sometimes been confused with William Woorts of St. Catharine's, who entered as a pensioner of the College in 1694, and was twenty-sixth in the list of honours—i.e. twenty-third Wrangler, in 1698. It was Mr. Woorts of St. Catharine's who became so great a benefactor to the University, and whose name is kept alive by "Worts Causeway." Besides his most useful fund for repairing and improving the footpaths and roads about Cambridge, the University is indebted

to him for the fund which for 150 years maintained the "Travelling Bachelorship," and now has higher uses still.

It is an interesting coincidence that in the year 1673, in which the last mention is found of Mr. Bucke, the last entry of expenditure on Woodlark's building is found, £20 for repairing the College, and the first entry is found of contributions towards the rebuilding of the College. Before finally leaving the old College, as Mr. Bucke knew it, we must record the opinion of its appearance expressed by the well-known historian of the University, Thomas Fuller.*

"This may be termed Aula Bella . . . a pretty Hall. And the beholding of this House mindeth me of what Sir Thomas More writeth of a she-favourite of King Edward IV. as to this particular conformity betwixt them . . . namely, that there was nothing in her body one could have changed, except one would have wished her somewhat higher. Lowness of endowment and littleness of receipt is all that can be cavilled at in this foundation, otherwise proportionably most complete in chapel, cloisters, library, hall, &c. Indeed this house was long town-bound (which hindered the growth thereof) till Dr. Goslin, that good physician, cured it of that disease, by giving the Bull Inn thereunto, so that since it hath flourished with buildings, and students lately more numerous than in greater colleges."

On March 15, 1680, King Charles II. issued his warrant to the High Sheriff of the County, directing him to forbear to execute the sentence of death which had been passed at the last assizes on two scholars of St. Catharine's, James Beversham and Benjamin Beversham, for taking six pounds from a

^{*} Fuller, 168.

butcher on the highway. They were the sons of Dr. James Beversham of Keltishall, and nephews of Sir William Beversham. Benjamin had been eighteenth Wrangler in 1679. By a hard coincidence it fell to the lot of Dr. Eachard as Vice-Chancellor to commit his two Scholars for trial on the charge of highway robbery. We have among the miscellaneous documents of the College a bundle of letters and draft replies relating to this affair, with the warrant for respiting the execution. The father of the culprits, Dr. James Beversham, writes to Dr. Eachard on February 11, March 1, April 5, and April 15; and their uncle, Sir William Beversham, on March 3; all in the year 1680. Dr. Eachard's draft replies are in the bundle. The connection of the College with the Bevershams had lasted for forty years.

Benjamin Calamy was for eight years (1666-74) one of our most successful College tutors. He was the second son of Edmund Calamy, one of the five Puritan authors who called themselves jointly Smectymnuus.* Edmund and his eldest son Edmund were ejected under the Act of Uniformity while Benjamin was still an undergraduate. The father's position was so important that he had been offered the Bishopric of Lichfield in the year preceding his ejectment; he had been "egged on by Mrs. Calamy" to refuse it. He eventually died of grief after driving through the ruins of London in the Great Fire. His son Benjamin, as we shall see, similarly died of grief.

Benjamin entered Pensioner at Catharine Hall in 1663. Strype had migrated to the College the year before; the "Virginian Hampden," Nathaniel Bacon,

^{*} See p. 111.

was at the time a Fellow-Commoner. Joshua Sacheverell entered Pensioner in the same year; he was himself a good Churchman, but his father John, who had been educated for Holy Orders, had joined the Puritans, and on the overthrow of episcopacy became presbyterian minister at Wincanton. Joshua died very poor, as minister of St. Peter's Church, Marlborough. The famous Dr. Sacheverell was his son. Benjamin Calamy left the College in 1674; became, by the influence of the notorious George Jefferies, perpetual curate of St. Mary Aldermanbury, from which his father had been ejected in 1662; chaplain in ordinary to the King and D.D. 1680; Vicar of St. Lawrence Jewry in 1683; and Prebendary of St. Paul's in 1685, with, as his nephew says, fair prospect of the utmost preferment. He was a very strong advocate of the parochial system, and used to quote the words of his Puritan father, "All our Church calamities have sprung from forsaking the parish churches."

In the year in which he became Canon of St. Paul's, Calamy received his death-blow. His parishioner and friend, Henry Cornish, a man inclined to presbyterianism and a stout Whig, was tried for his life before Jefferies, and was executed October 23 in Cheapside, at the corner of King Street, in sight of his own house. The charge was nominally one of conspiracy, but the real offence was the discovery of a Popish plot. Calamy stood by him at his trial, and withstood the judge, his former patron. He never recovered his spirits, and he died within three months, January 7, 1686. He was buried at St. Lawrence Jewry. The funeral sermon was preached by his fellow-prebendary, William Sherlock, who had recently been made Master of the Temple.

Benjamin's brother James, a Fellow of St. Catharine's, edited in 1690 a volume of Benjamin's sermons. Another brother, John, six years younger than Benjamin, was also educated at Cambridge. The eldest brother, Edmund, who had been ejected with his father in 1662, became in 1665 Chaplain to Sir Samuel Barnardiston at his residence near Ipswich; his last male descendant, Michael, who was an occasional Unitarian preacher, died at the age of eighty-five in 1876.

Thomas Rokeby, already mentioned as one of the six new Fellows on the expulsion of the Master and Fellows by the Parliament, entered at Catharine Hall in 1646, and graduated in 1650, a few months before the death of his father, Thomas Rokeby of Cottingham, a Cromwellian officer, at the battle of Dunbar. The Rokebys were men of good estate in Yorkshire, and several members of the family achieved distinction. Rokeby became Fellow of St. Catharine's at Christmas 1650, but only retained his Fellowship for three-quarters of a year. He entered at Gray's Inn, and besides the study of the law, he devoted himself to the preparation for publication of a portion of the manuscript history of his family, the Œconomia Rokebeiorum. In the legal vacations he lived at his house in Lendal, in York, and soon became the confidential adviser of the Nonconformists of the North, and of a large number of prominent Yorkshiremen. In 1688 he strongly advocated the arrangement with William III., and that King, whose choice of good judges is well known, made him one of the twelve judges of Common Pleas in 1689, and he was knighted. In 1695 he was transferred to the King's Bench. Four years later he died at his Chambers in Serjeants' Inn. at the age of sixty-eight. He was buried in the

memorial chapel of his collateral ancestor, William Rokeby, Archbishop of Dublin and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, who died in 1521.

Rokeby was a strong Presbyterian, and deeply religious. In 1688, when the great political changes occurred, he began to keep a private journal.* Two extracts will serve to show the character of the man:

"April 14, '89. I have received intimations from good hands that there is a probability that I shall by publicke authority be called to a place of eminent and public magistracy. Oh Lord, thou knowest my great infirmity † and exceeding unfitness in many respects to be in such a station, and the consideration of these things hath occasioned many anxious thoughts in my mind. I hope, O Lord, I can truly say that the greatest cause of my trouble about this affair is, least though any weakness or unfitness of mine to fill up such a station, Thy glory should in any respect be eclipsed, or the publicke justice and good or this kingdom should take detriment, or the religion I profess should be exposed to any reproach or contempt."

Again:

"Aug. 1, '92. . . . I went the Oxford circuit with Just. Eyre. I had some troublesome ways for the coach, and I had some trouble with the clamours and unreasonable carriage of some of the great practising lawyers, yet I found God's abounding mercy to me in carrying me through these things."

^{*} Surtees Society's Publications, vol. 37.

[†] He had very bad health, and was lame from an accident.

CHAPTER XV

Connection between Schools and Colleges—St. Catharine's and Birmingham—Paul's, Merchant Taylors, Eton, Ipswich, Bury—Proposal to rebuild the College—Mr. Matthew Scrivener—Dr. Lightfoot's beginning of the work—Dr. Eachard's labours—Great sales of College plate—Dr. Eachard's debt to the University—Some account of him.

THERE is in the College Treasury the draft of an agreement, never executed, between the Governors and Chief Master of the School of King Edward VI. at Birmingham on the one part, and the Master and Fellows of the College on the other. As a matter of general interest to those who study the educational movements of the period, it will be well to give briefly the details. They are typical.

The Governors of the School agree to pay five pounds a year for each of two Scholars to be sent from the School to the College, and thirty pounds a year to each of two Fellows to be chosen by the Master and Fellows out of Scholars of the College sent to it from the School. The Master and Fellows agree to pay five pounds a year to each of the two Scholars, so that each may have ten pounds a year; and to appropriate the three Barnardiston Scholarships to Scholars sent from the School, the consent of Sir Thomas Barnardiston, the representative of the founder, having been given by deed dated September 18, 1676; and also to pay six pounds a year towards the maintenance of each of two other Scholars to be sent from the School.

A similar case is noted as follows in Dr. Eachard's "little pocket-book with a red string":

"There being 30 Scholarships belonging to Catharine Hall in Cambridge, and not any one of them determined to any one particular school or county in England, the Master and Fellows of the said College by the consent of the Founders or Executors to the Founders of the Scholarships are advised to settle ten of the best upon five eminent schools in the nation, namely, Paul's, Merchant Taylors, Eaton, Ipswich, and Bury, provided that the Governors of the said schools shall be pleased to settle Scholarships of like value upon such Scholars of their own as shall be sent to Catharine Hall. They may settle to the value of 4, 5, or 6 pounds per annum upon each of their scholars, we having no Scholarships that are greater. We have already determined two to Eton and two to Merchant Taylors and are ready to do the like to the rest of the schools."

At a later period the Mercers Company, as Dean Colet's trustees for St. Paul's School, had under consideration a plan for uniting their great School with St. Catharine's, much in the same way as Merchant Taylors was united with St. John's, Oxford.

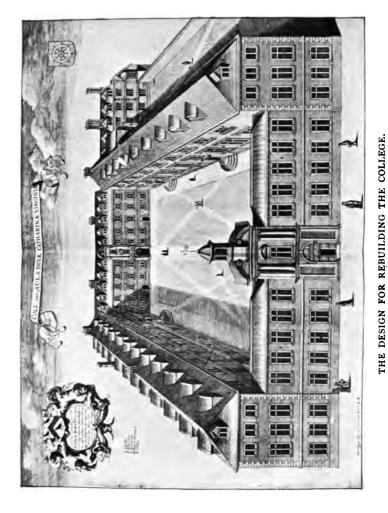
It is said that the first person to make practical suggestion of the advisability of completely rebuilding the College, excepting the new range of buildings now called the Bull Court, or Walnut-tree Court, was Matthew Scrivener, Vicar of Haslingfield. Loggan spoke of him in 1688 as "a venerable, most learned, and most worthy member of St. Catharine's, never to be forgotten in the College; not only was he the first originator of the rebuilding of the College, but he gave ample means to the honour of God for the service of the new Chapel when it should be built." Dr. Eachard

also, the Master by whose exertions the work was brought to its completion, makes a similar statement in his memoranda. There can be no doubt that the attribution of the idea to Mr. Scrivener is sound, and that he pressed it into action by his persistence and his gifts. He was never a Fellow of the College, but the Hasling-field Vicarage was at a very convenient distance from Cambridge in those days, when men took their exercise on horseback.

Dr. Lightfoot was the Master who commenced rebuilding, February 23, 1674. He diéd December 6, 1675, less than two years after the first commencement of the work, but the present Hall was finished half a year before his death, and had been formally opened. The accounts to Michaelmas 1675 contain the entry, "Spent Whitsuntide 1675 at the opening the Hall, £119 14s. 11d." The stone laid at the commencement of this work was found during the removal of the steps leading to the Hall a few years ago, with the inscription May VIIth, MDCLXXIIII: it is now used as the support of the scraper at the door of the new Lodge.

On the accession of Dr. Eachard to the Mastership, more vigour than ever was put into the work. He was one of the six who had elected Dr. Lightfoot back into the Mastership at the Restoration. He had been very successful as tutor, and continued to act in that capacity.

The care of his pupils did not prevent the tutor-Master from applying himself with extreme zeal and diligence to the collection of money for the new buildings. The amounts paid for the buildings from 1673-74, when they were commenced under Dr. Lightfoot, to Michaelmas 1687, when the whole ceased till 1694 for lack of means, came to about £9000. Much went for



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interest on money borrowed, a very large item throughout Dr. Eachard's time.

A memorandum of Dr. Eachard, dated September 29, 1687, shows that the payments were in fact considerably larger than the books record: it shows also a very creditable spirit of sacrifice on the part of the Fellows as well as the Master. "All that was saved out of Bachelors' feasts and Fellows' feasts, and the fines for leases given up by the Master and Fellows, was allowed towards interest-money, entertainment of benefactors, horse-journeys, and such like extraordinary expences above what is entered into the accounts."

Unfortunately they were driven to such straits that three considerable parcels of plate were taken out of the Treasury and sold, fetching respectively £76, £44 6s. 3d., and £76 19s. 9d., in all £197 6s. 0d.; there must have been nearly 800 ounces of it, and its value in the present day would have been large; if some of the pieces were then old, as was presumably the case, we cannot easily fix a limit to its present value. Still more is that so with the next mention of the sale of plate for the purposes of the new buildings. A year after this memorandum we have a deed of sale to Sir Charles Cæsar * of Bennington, Herts, Knight, of sundry Tankards and pieces of plate weighing in all 402 ounces, in satisfaction of £100, money borrowed of him. A few years later they sold more plate for £108 10s. 2d., making in all £405 16s. 2d., or over 1600 ounces.

^{*} The financial relations of Sir Charles Cæsar with the College were not altogether satisfactory; but no grudge seems to have been borne, for in 1701 he entered his son Thomas at the College as a pensioner. Henry Cæsar had entered in 1691 and Charles in 1688.

More than one list of our Tankards of those times is in our books, and they make the mouth of the lover of old plate water. The practice that Fellow-Commoners on leaving the College should give a piece of plate or a considerable sum of money for the purchase of plate has been referred to (see page 96); and inasmuch as in thirteen years before 1688, twenty-nine Fellow-Commoners and two Noblemen had entered, it is not surprising that the number of Tankards was large. The Tankards which went to Bennington, the deed of 1688 thus describes:

One Silver Tankard called Mr. Soothby's tankard, weighing 25 oz. 10 dwt.

One great two-eared Silver plate,* weighing 30 oz.

One Silver Tankard called Sr John Rouses tankard, weighing 50 oz.

One Silver Tankard called Mr. Peter Pheasants tankard weighing 29 oz. 10 dwt.

One Silver Tankard called Mr. Robert Brookes tankard, weighing 24 oz. 10 dwt.

One Silver two-eared plate called Mr. Potts his plate, weighing 20 oz.

One other Silver two-eared plate with the Colledge Arms on it, weighing 21 oz.

One other Silver Tankard called Mr. Boothbys tankard, weighing 19 oz. 10 dwt.

One Silver Tankard called Mr. Rolts tankard, weighing 20 oz. 10 dwt.

One Silver Tankard called Mr. Pierces tankard, weighing 43 oz.

One Silver Tankard called Mr. Peter Husseys tankard, weighing 45 oz.

* These were drinking vessels, for we have records of a two-eared quart plate and a two-eared quart pot in 1686.

One Silver Tankard called Mr. John Whitings tankard, weighing 19 oz. 10 dwt.

One Silver Tankard called Mr. Robert Faggs tankard, weighing 22 oz. 10 dwt.

One other Silver two-eared plate with the ColledgeArms on it, weighing 22 oz. and

One Silver drum Salt with the Colledge Arms on it, weighing 9 oz. 10 dwt.

An examination of the names of men entered at the College as Fellow-Commoners or Noblemen from the year 1627, in which year the entries began to be kept fairly well, down to the year in question, 1688, enables us to date ten out of the eleven pieces of plate which have names attached to them. The donor of the second largest tankard, Mr. Peter Hussey's 45 oz., cannot be certainly identified.

The dates of entry of the donors are as follows: Potts, 1634; Robert Brooke, 1637; Rolte, 1659; Robert Fagg, 1663; Boothby, 1665; Peter Pheasant, 1666; Sotheby, 1670; Whiting and Sir John Rous, 1671; Pierce or Peirse, 1680. The two Charles I. pieces, Mr. Potts's two-eared plate of 20 oz. and Mr. Robert Brooke's tankard of 24 oz. 10 dwt., would be worth a great deal of money now. It will be seen that only one of the sixty pieces of plate named in 1647 (page 98) is named here.

The treatment of plate as a natural means of procuring ready money was very common in those days, and still more common in earlier times. When the University found that the confirmation by Edward VI. of the privileges granted by his predecessors, and the unsuccessful attempt to obtain larger privileges, cost them £92 18s., they sold the great silver cross, for which they had no further use, at 5s. 6d. an ounce. It weighed

336 ounces, and therefore fetched £92 8s. When Mary restored the old ceremonies they had to buy a silver cross to replace it, for which they paid £30 0s. 8d. by assessment on the Colleges; St. Catharine's paid 16s. 8d. towards this sum.

It may be as well to give some other names of donors of plate, recovered from various entries in the Order Books, about the years 1686 and 1698. It is probable that a more extended search would discover more:

Mr. Bedingfield, 35 oz.	72	Mr. Middleton's	Mon-	
Mr. Augustine Brograve	'80	teth* .		'91
Sir Charles Cæsar	88	Mr. George More		
Mr. Darnell	'60	Mr. John Owen		'66
Mr. Goodwin, 36 oz	'83	Mr. Partheric		'72
Mr. Harvey, 37 oz	'53	Mr. Raymond		'4 8
Mr. Thomas Hatcher .	'85	Mr. Rooke		
Mr. Robert Jenny		Sir John Rouse		'94
Mr. John Knivett .	'69	Mr. Wastel senr.		'51
Mr. Thomas Knivett .	'71	Mr. Wastel junr.		'51
Sir Francis Willough	by,	$69\frac{1}{2}$ oz	. '82	

Besides selling their plate to pay for their buildings, the Society sold old lamps to buy new. Thus, in 1691, the drum salt, the old round salt, the kettledrum salt, and two cups marked K. H., went to provide six new salt sellers and two pint tankards. In a list of the plate in Benjamin Hoadly's chambers in 1698, some of the pieces are marked "Sold." They were sold to provide a bason and ewer. The pieces were the younger Sir Charles

^{*} A Monteith is a silver punch-bowl with scalloped rim, in the eight indentations of which eight punch glasses were suspended. This kind of bowl was invented in the summer of 1683, and took its name from a "fantastic Scot called Monsieur Monteigh," who had a coat "notched at bottome."

Cæsar's, the younger Sir John Rous's, Mr. Kemp's, a College porringer, and Mr. Middleton's "Monteth."

At Dr. Eachard's death on July 7, 1697, there were considerable debts for which he was personally responsible. Up to December 21, 1695, according to a statement in his handwriting, the sum expended had been £10,620 11s. 11d., and the moneys received had been £8972 14s. 2d., leaving an adverse balance of £1647 17s. 9d., with the Chapel still to be begun. The whole of the range of buildings now fronting Queens' Lane was completed, and the north and south wings of the quadrangle as they now are, except the Chapel on the north and the Ramsden Building, staircases A and B, on the south.

The state of the accounts was, in fact, worse than the adverse balance of £1647 17s. 9d. indicated. College owed on bonds £1250; Dr. Eachard's personal liabilities were £603 to relatives and friends, and £950 17s. 51d. to the University; and he thought there was about £300 due to the workmen: in all above £3100. In these days it seems nothing less than astonishing that the Head of a House could have owed £950 to the University, and Dr. Eachard's naïve statement makes it seem more strange still: "I would have the University paid first, because their money was made use of for the paying of College debts and carrying on the building in the time of my Vice-Chancellorship." In order to do something towards repaying this curious debt, he left to the University his share in a lease at Yarmouth. This they sold in 1705 to Dr. James, President of Queens' and Regius Professor of Divinity. for £409. It would appear that the University lost more than £500 by Dr. Eachard.

Of John Eachard (XVIII.), who made so great a mark upon the College, not much is known. Eachards were people of good position in Suffolk, and at least six members of the family entered at the College from 1655 to 1677, including the elder Laurence. John became Fellow in 1658, and Master in 1675. was twice Vice-Chancellor. His first book was a consideration of Mr. Hobbes's State of Nature, in 1672.* It was, however, his Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy and Religion which made his reputation as a writer. This was regarded as one of the most witty publications of the time, and it may still be read with lively amusement. Swift speaks of it with respect; and some outlines of the Tale of a Tub have been traced to Eachard's writings. It is, however, not easy to see how Eachard's book can have suggested the Martin, Peter, and Jack, in whose persons the Tale of a Tub deals with the Church of England, Rome, and the Presbyterians, respectively. Baker, the non-juror, makes a note in his copy of Eachard's works that he went to St. Mary's with great expectation to hear this witty man, who scarified other people's sermons, himself preach, and he was never more disappointed. Eachard would appear to have been personally a dull man.

He no doubt selected the quaintest and queerest examples of pulpit eloquence which he could find, and the impression left is wholly unfavourable. He might have selected quite as many examples of noble utterances, and, by omitting all that told the other way, have left an impression wholly favourable. The truth

^{*} It was the pleasantry of this sally, delivered against Mr. Hobbes's opinions, which "so much disconcerted the gravity of that severe philosopher."

lay between these two extremes, whether nearer the one than the other, and which one, we cannot clearly now ascertain. It seems, however, fairly clear that he thought the truth was not very far off the highly coloured picture which he drew. At the same time it is only fair to say that the book itself is not quite so severe as the tradition about it makes it to be. typical example may be given of the poverty of resource displayed by his selected preachers. The text was Ps. xxii. 12, in the Bible version, "Many bulls have compassed me: strong bulls of Bashan have beset me round." The preacher opened thus: "These were not They were compassing bulls. ordinary bulls. were besetting bulls. They were strong Bashan bulls." It should be added that in the belief of the time Eachard took most of his examples of absurdity from his own father's sermons.

CHAPTER XVI

Bonnell's letter to Strype—Some account of Strype and Bonnell—The Revolution of 1688—Fatal lease of land from Queens' College—Foundations of Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Scrivener, Mr. Frankland, Mr. Holwey, for Scholarships and Fellowships—Election of Sir William Dawes to the Mastership—Completion of the Chapel—John Leng—John Jeffery.

THERE is in the University Library, among the Baumgartner MSS. already quoted, an amusing evidence that the front of the College facing Queens' Lane was finished before the autumn of 1679. James Bonnell, who entered at Catharine in 1668, was a correspondent of Strype, whose Scholarship at the College was about running out when Bonnell came up. Bonnell visited Cambridge in November 1679, partly to see the portion of the Neville Court at Trinity which was finished in that year. He wrote an account of his visit to his friend Strype. The following is the part of his letter which refers to their old College:

"By ill fortune it proved Gosling day * and Mr. Blackal† preacht; I came when he had done; and was taken up in company all yo time, at a long dinner of ill drest meat (under yo rose) and a formality of being served by gownd waiting men, little dirty pawd sizers, twh greazy old fash'nd glasses, and trenchers yo wd hold no sawce: but this only for merriment between yo and I: yo end of the

- * The Commemoration feast for Dr. Gostlin.
- + Afterwards Bishop of Exeter.
- In the years 1675-79 no less than thirty-eight sizars entered.

From a photograph by]

THE COM

THE COMBINATION ROOM.

[]. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge

Colledg next Queens is finisht, and yo gate is plain next yo street; but very hansom of yo inside; they talk of going on, but whether next Spring or no, I can't tell; you will know before this I suppose that Dr. Eachd is V. Chancell.

John Strype, or van Strijp, the well-known biographer of Cranmer, Sir Thomas Smith, Grindal, Parker, Whitgift, Aylmer, author of the Annals of the Reformation and the Ecclesiastical Memorials, was the son of John van Strijp; his mother was Hester Bonnell of Norwich. He came from St. Paul's School in 1662. After graduating at St. Catharine's he was ordained. lecturer of Hackney 1689 to 1724. In 1711 he became sinecure Rector of West Tarring, a preferment which Cole suggests that he owed to Henry Sacheverell, whose father Joshua was at St. Catharine's with him. lived to be ninety-four. Samuel Knight, another Catharine man, visited him when he was past ninety, and found him very brisk and well. He painfully amassed material till he was fifty, and then began to write; but his collections of material were so great as to overpower his ability to deal with it. He was a correspondent of Thoresby of Leeds, who entered both of his sons at the College.

James Bonnell's character is a delightful study. The simplicity and reality of his piety, and the clearness of his devotion to duty, make him a man of whom the College may well be proud. His life well deserved the praise of the Bishop of Killaloe in his preface to the sermon which he preached on Bonnell's death—"in the best age of the Church, had he lived therein, he would have passed for a saint." His ancestor had fled from the cruelty of Alva in the Low Countries and settled in Norwich, as many refugees did. Bonnell's

father was a well-to-do man, and contributed liberally to the support of Charles II. when in exile. reward, he was made Accountant-General of Ireland, with succession to his son James. Strype was his cousin and friend, and brought him to St. Catharine's in 1668, notwithstanding that his relations had feared the effect of a University upon his piety. He maintained the regularity of his devotions throughout his course at St. Catharine's, and became well known as the writer of "Pious Meditations." When he succeeded to the Accountant-Generalship he threw himself into the very complicated work of his office and thoroughly mastered it; but at the same time he more than once prepared men to act as his substitute in order that he might himself be ordained. He was learned in languages and sciences; a deep student of the Bible and the early Fathers; he gave an eighth of his goods to feed the poor; during the longer part of his life he went to church twice every day; he received the Holy Communion every Sunday; he kept all the Feasts and Fasts of the Prayer Book; and every Friday he said the fifty-first Psalm on his knees.

The Revolution of 1688 did not pass over the College without a mark. John Bradock had resigned his Fellowship 13 August 1688, and had been succeeded by John Leng, of Thornton in Yorkshire, afterwards Bishop of Norwich. Adam Buddle and William Phillips were still Fellows at Michaelmas 1691, but in October Dr. Eachard declared their Fellowships vacant. They had not taken the oath prescribed by the act of 1 W. & M., and made the declaration against Transubstantiation.

The College had got itself into a great difficulty

in connection with the rebuilding. In order to make their plan symmetrical, they had leased from Queens' College a strip of ground ten feet wide and thirty-six yards long, on which the southern part of the Master's Lodge was built, the attractive face of the College shown at page 152. Looking at the matter now, it seems clear that Queens' College (1) could at the expiration of the lease take the land into its own possession again, requiring the College to remove that part of the Master's Lodge which occupied the ground; or (2) could grant another lease on terms which they could dictate; or (3) when the Land Tax Act had enabled them to sell, could refuse to continue to lease, and demand a ransom for the fee simple. As time went on Queens' College made St. Catharine's feel its position severely. It will be sufficient to state very briefly the stages of the controversy.

In 1676, Queens' agreed to lease this scrap. The lease was only to be executed in case St. Catharine's obtained an opinion from "6 Sergeants at Law or the King's Counsel" that it might lawfully be done. This they obtained,* and also a permissory letter from Charles II. The lease was for twenty-one years, at £1 a year. It was renewed in 1707. In 1729, when the lease was renewed, an additional strip of ground was added to the south of it—i.e. running along the south face of the Master's Lodge; it was 123½ feet long and its breadth averaged seven feet two inches. This second strip gave an entrance from Queens' Lane. The lease was again for twenty-one years, and the rent of the two pieces was £2. The whole area was less

^{*} Five out of the seven lawyers consulted advised St. Catharine's to be well assured, before they began to build, that Queens' would not avoid the lease.

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than the twenty-second part of an acre. A similar lease was granted in 1751.

In 1789 the two Colleges were not on good terms. Queens' insisted (very properly) on a new lease being taken out, the lease having expired eighteen years before; and at an advanced rent. Eventually they granted a lease for twenty-one years from 1789, advancing the rent by only one shilling to £2 1s. a year. seem to have behaved with great moderation. 1799 they said they would no longer lease; they would sell under the Land Tax Act, and their price was £530, about £11,700 an acre. St. Catharine's consulted the Attorney-General, who advised that they had not a leg to stand upon, and gave them two alternatives: to wait till the expiry of the lease, by which time there might have been a change in the management of Queens', or to pay down the price demanded at once. He thought the latter course would prove in the end the more economical, extortionate though the price "If upon calculation they shall find submission advisable, it will probably also be prudent for them to avoid all observation on the conduct of Queens' College in the meantime"; so said Mr. John Mitford, the Attorney-General. They waited for the lease to expire, and as they did not choose the alternative of submission. they probably also did not take the other part of the Attorney's advice.

When the lease ran out, in 1810, two and a half years were spent in negotiations. In 1813 the matter was settled. St. Catharine's paid £152 6s. 0d. for the two and a half years rent, instead of £5 2s. 6d., i.e., at the rate of well over £1300 a year per acre. For the fee simple of these two strips, with the addition of



From a photograph by]

[Hills & Saunders, Cambridge THE SOUTH FACE OF THE OLD LODGE, A.D. 1676.

• . . another piece on the south, then used as a garden to the Master's Lodge, with the wall standing on it adjoining the Printing Office garden, they paid £1372.

While the material building was slowly growing in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, substantial endowments were coming in, no less than four in this period.

In 1674, John Cartwright, of Aynho, Northants, gave £200 to endow Scholarships, the College undertaking to pay £12 a year to Scholars nominated by the donor or his heirs; they might have one, two, or three Scholars at a time, but the whole payment was to be £12; the Scholarships tenable for eight years. The College found that six per cent. for ever was a very heavy rate of interest, and Mr. Cartwright's grandson and heir, Thomas Cartwright, gave them, twenty years later, another £50 of capital, to make the payment easier.

In 1688, Mr. Scrivener, already* very favourably mentioned, died. In his will, after leaving £50 to the University Library to be spent "either for buying chainst for the securing of the books at present therein contained, or for the increase of the number of them;" he gives £50 towards the proposed new Chapel of the College if it "be undertaken bona fide and with probability of being brought to pass within seven years after my decease"; also lands to pay twenty marks (£13 6s. 8d.) yearly "to the person settled in the Fellowship faithfully promised by Mr. Frankland, ‡ Schoolmaster in Coventry, to settle out of his estate on the Hall of St. Catharine." Out of these lands the College is further to take fifty shillings each year "towards the

^{*} See p. 139. † This seems a late date for this arrangement,

i See the next mentioned benefaction.

charges of their annual feast observed in commemoration of their liberal benefactor, Dr. Goslin, I understanding that the sum assigned by him for that purpose falleth short of what may be necessary to that end." exceedingly probable that Mr. Scrivener dined in hall at the "Gosling feast" at which James Bonnell was present, and it may well have been that after dinner Bonnell expressed his opinion not quite "under ye rose," or "for merriment between yo and I," and was informed by the Bursar that they gave the best they could for the money. Finally, the residue of the income from Mr. Scrivener's lands was "to be expended about the Chapel of the said College by repairing, adorning it, or promoting the more solemn worship of God." If any deficiency appeared, his goods were to be sold to make it up.

The "Fellowship faithfully promised by Mr. Frankland," to which Mr. Scrivener left in faith an augmentation, soon came in. Mr. Frankland's will is dated 1691. He gave lands to the value of £600, out of the rents of which £20 a year was to be paid to a Frankland Fellow, who was to be sent from the Free Grammar School in Coventry. This, he believes, with Mr. Scrivener's £13 6s. 8d., and the chamber in College free (for which he had given in his lifetime £60), "will make a handsome provision for the Frankland Fellowship."

A dispute about an election to this Fellowship led to Lord Brougham's order that there must be no question of relative competence as between candidates who came from the School and candidates who did not. It is impossible to work an examination where the question is one of balancing personal claims and examination merits. There is no answer to the problem which the

present writer heard put by Dr. Thompson, the late Master of Trinity, "How much poverty on the part of a candidate makes up for a false quantity?"

Though Mr. Frankland's was the earlier will, the next foundation came to practical effect before his. Moses Holwey, clerk, of Michaelstow in Cornwall, gave and left money for the foundation of a Conduct* Fellowship. His benefaction amounted to £1130, and the College had to pay about £190 more in expenses. The lease of the Rectory of Guilden Morden was purchased with the money, and this continued to be the endowment of the Conduct Fellowship or chaplaincy till it was run out a few years ago by means of a life assurance. By Mr. Holwey's will the Conduct was to receive £26 a year, to have a chamber furnished rent free, and to have also "the advantage of keeping the library of Catharine Hall." Another £12 a year was to go to two Scholars in the College, to be taken from Eton School, in the County of Bucks, and Merchant Taylors School, London; the College undertaking to pay them another £12 out of its own revenues. Further, £4 is to be spent every year in commemorating "the Chapel's great benefactor, Mr. Scrivener, in a feast on the anniversary of his death, namely, £3 at the Fellows' table and £1 at the rest, and 40s. for a sermon in chapel on the day Such onerous conditions make one marvel at the conscience of benefactors and the easiness of the College. Besides the necessary expenses, here is £60 a year undertaken by the College for ever, and £190 paid down, to secure £1130.

^{*} Latin conductus, "hired" to perform the services in Chapel, as contrasted with the ordinary Fellow, who was under no definite engagement to do certain work as the condition of holding his Fellowship.

Before the benefaction of the Conduct Fellowship, the services were voluntarily performed by the Fellows in Holy Orders, each taking a week in turn. We learn this from a College Order of 15 October, 1715, when the estate which provided the stipend was out of repair, and the Fellowship—then vacant—could, in consequence, not be filled. It was agreed that the Fellows should read Prayers in Chapel "as they did before the foundation of the Conduct Fellowship," each paying 5s. who did not supply the week of his course in his own person.

On Dr. Eachard's death, Dr. Peter Fisher, who had been Fellow of the College 1672-1677, and was now Rector of Bennington, the Cæsars' place in Herts, was elected Master 12 July, 1697. He did not seek admission, and he resigned the office 11 August, 1697, King William having nine days before given the College power and authority to elect as Master Sir William Dawes, Bart. (D.D. by Royal letters 1696), notwithstanding the Statute which required the Master to be thirty years of age at least. Sir William Dawes was admitted Master August 18, 1697. It was a most fortunate appointment in every way.

The new Master had important friends. He drew up a clear and pointed appeal;* money came in; and the Chapel was finished in 1704 and consecrated by the Bishop of Ely, Dr. Symon Patrick. The ceremony is thus noted in Bishop Patrick's "Autobiography" (Oxf. 1839, p. 187):

[&]quot;In the next month (August 1704) I was desired to con-

^{*} The College Order Book has a memorandum by Sir William Dawes, Jan. 2, 1699, "for printing 100 of College cases—125,"

secrate a new Chapel built in Catharine Hall, Cambridge. Accordingly I considered of a form wherein to do it, and upon the 1st of September went thither, accompanied with the heads of several colleges and other worthy persons, dedicated it to the worship and service of God, to which it was set apart, with Prayers and a Sermon and the Holy Communion. The Master of the College, Sir William Dawes, and the Fellows desired the form of Consecration might be printed, with the Sermon preached by Mr. Leng, a worthy Fellow of that College, unto which I consented, and both were printed at Cambridge a little after."

The sum spent on the building of the Chapel after Dr. Eachard's death was £835 6s. 8d.; besides which, John Austin, who executed the wainscoting, received £350, and the carver, Francis Woodward, £110 15s. 0d.

The Consecration of the new Chapel took place on September 1, 1704, an unsuitable day for a great ceremony as things now are, Cambridge being in modern times at its very emptiest then. Indeed, as those who happen to be there know to their cost, September 1 has been chosen on that account as the day on which the several Colleges close their gates all day in order to prevent the acquisition of public rights of way.

The Consecration was in one respect of unique importance: it was the first consecration since the Restoration. As such it attracted the attention of Convocation, which was still acting, and the form drawn up by the Bishop of Ely, Symon Patrick, was taken as the basis of the Convocation form prepared for the Consecration of the fifty new churches built in London by the nation. There is a small quarto print of it, with the sermon preached by John Leng, B.D., Fellow of the College and afterwards Bishop of

Norwich, printed at the University Press for Rob. Clavel and H. Bonwick in London and Edmund Jeffery in Cambridge; but it is now rare.

It is an interesting coincidence that when the new Chapel of Queen's College, Oxford, was consecrated in 1717, Sir William Dawes had become Archbishop of York, and, as such, Visitor of that College. He used at the consecration the form drawn up by the Bishop of Ely for the Chapel of St. Catharine's. Dr. Magrath, the present Provost of Queen's, very kindly allowed the present writer to see the manuscript account of the ceremony now in his possession. There is in the Bodleian Library a copy of the printed form spoken of above, altered in pen and ink for the consecration of Queen's Chapel. The day and hour were the same on the two occasions, September 1, 9 A.M., and the Psalms, Anthems, Lessons, &c., were the same.

John Leng, a mention of whose sermon has been made above, was an unusually valuable man, and his death in the fourth year of his episcopate was a grave He died of the small-pox, caught at the coronation of George II. He was born at Thornton, near Pickering, and was a Pauline. He entered Sizar in 1682, in the same year with Sir Francis Willoughby and two years before Sir Robert Dawes. He became Fellow in September 1688, and began to act as Tutor in 1689. His name disappears from the list of tutors in 1708; ninety-one men had entered under him in the twenty years, and about thirty under the other tutors. He was an excellent scholar, as well as an excellent tutor, edited plays of Aristophanes, and specially distinguished himself by his great edition of Terence. He also published a revised edition of L'Estrange's translation of Cicero's Offices. Sir Nicholas Carew of Beddington, one of his pupils, presented him in 1708 to his home living. His Boyle Lectures, 1717-18, were published under the title The Natural Obligations to believe the Principles of Religion and Divine Revelation. took part in the work of the very remarkable "Society for the Reformation of Manners," preaching one of their sermons in Bow Church in 1718; a Society which solved the problem of the religious needs of the City of London, so densely crowded all week-days, on lines well deserving the study of those who are responsible for London now. Leng's sermons have been described in words which his sermon at the consecration of the Chapel deserved, as "enriched with the fruit of much learning, gracefully but not pedantically exhibited." He became Bishop of Norwich in 1723, and died in 1727.

John Jeffery, of Ipswich, graduated at the College in 1668; a second John Jeffery, of Ipswich, became Fellow in 1704. He was elected to St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, was a friend of Sir Thomas Browne, and frequently preached for Tillotson at Lincoln's Inn. Tillotson, as Archbishop of Canterbury, made him Archdeacon of Norwich in 1694, by the old right by which an Archbishop had the "option" of naming one clerk to be provided for by any bishop whom he had consecrated. He died in 1720. The right of option was terminated by an Act of 1841, forbidding the assignment of any patronage belonging to a spiritual office.*

^{*} This information is supplied by the wonted kindness of Dr. Bensly of Norwich.

CHAPTER XVII

Notices of Bishop Blackall, William Wotton, Lord Cutts, Bishop Benjamin Hoadly and his sons, Archbishop John Hoadly, Archbishop Dawes—Annexation of a Canonry to the Mastership—Opposition of the Dean of Norwich—Notices of Bishops Sherlock and Thomas.

Offspring Blackhall, or Blackall, entered at St. Catharine's as a Pensioner in 1670, the year in which John Addenbrooke entered, and two years after James He became Fellow in 1679, and vacated his Fellowship in 1687. He was, during his residence as an undergraduate in the College, an intimate friend of Bonnell, and that of itself would be a sufficient evidence of the excellence of his moral and religious Strype, Bonnell's cousin, and James Calamy, brother of Dr. Calamy the tutor, were members of the little inner circle of kindred spirits in which Blackall moved. He was a High Churchman, and though one of the chaplains of William III. he was suspected of more than a platonic affection for the Stuarts. In 1699 he preached the thirtieth of January sermon before the House of Commons, an occasion on which strong language was generally expected, and a great controversy sprang up in consequence of his sermon. point was, however, not political but religious; he told the Commons that their efforts against vice and immorality were of little use if they allowed attacks upon revealed religion. On the anniversary of Queen Anne's accession he more than once preached high

political sermons, and Hoadly of course attacked him. One of the defenders of Blackall exactly hit off Hoadly in the ironical title he gave to his pamphlet— The best answer ever was made, and to which no answer ever will be made. In 1708 Queen Anne presented Blackall to the see of Exeter, on the advice of Archbishop Sharp, probably not without the intervention of Blackall's devoted personal friend and most appreciative literary executor and editor, Sir William As bishop he threw himself very warmly into the new scheme of schools for the children of poor folk, for which the nation is indebted to the influence of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, at that time recently founded. As a preacher, it would not be easy to find any one more simple, direct, weighty, and full, than Blackall showed himself to be in his series of sermons on the Sermon on the Mount. William Dawes says of him: "I do sincerely declare that in my whole conversation I never met with a more perfect pattern of a true Christian life in all its parts than in him." He sent his sons to the College.

It may be mentioned as an interesting coincidence that Blackall and Sir William Dawes were consecrated on the same day, February 8, 1708, Blackall at Lambeth by the Bishop of London (acting for the Archbishop of Canterbury), and Dawes at Westminster, by the Bishop of Winchester (acting for the Archbishop of York).

William Wotton was born August 13, 1666, the son of Henry Wotton, of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Minister of Wrentham, in Suffolk. On May 24, 1672, John Ombler, Fellow of Corpus, after examination, wrote this to his father: "Quinque plus minus

natus annos, linguam Latinam, Græcam, et Hebraicam, On July 20, 1672, Sir mirum in modum callet." Thomas Browne, the famous physician and writer, declared and certified that the boy, then three weeks short of six years of age, read accurately and construed truly some verses of the first Eclogue of Virgil, which Browne selected, as also verses of Homer, passages from the Carmina Aurea of Pythagoras, and a verse of Hebrew, Genesis iv. 1. On his seventh birthday, Ralph Sanderson, Fellow of St. John's, certified that Wotton read and expounded with the greatest ease passages of Syriac and Arabic. When John Eachard, Master of Catharine Hall, entered him in the Register, April 1, 1676, when he still wanted three and a half months of ten years of age, he wrote, "Gulielmus Wotton, infra decem annos, nec Hammondo nec Grotio secundus." In 1679, Dr. Gower, Master of St. John's, and for that year Caput in Theology, notes that Wotton was admitted B.A. at the unprecedented age of twelve, in his thirteenth year; he was only twelve years and five months old when he commenced Bachelor in January. Dr. Gower adds that the Senate had wisely determined to admit him to his degree notwithstanding his tender years. It would, he says, have been unjust to hold it too early for him to graduate, inasmuch as almost from his cradle he had been a ripe scholar in all kinds of Six years after his degree, he obtained a Fellowship at St. John's. He vacated his Fellowship in 1694, having been presented to the living of Milton, in Bucks, by the Earl of Nottingham, whose chaplain he was. In this same year, 1694, he published his Reflections upon Antient and Modern Learning, maintaining the superiority of the latter; Sir William Temple

took the other side. In the second edition Dr. Bentley's Dissertation was annexed, and this brought him into hot His chief opponent, however, Boyle, described him as "modest and decent, speaking generally with respect of those from whom he differs, and with a true distrust of his own opinions." Boyle, no doubt, selected his phrases to indicate the opposite qualities of Wotton's friend Bentley, of whom Bishop Stillingfleet, whose chaplain he was, declared, that "if he had humility he would be the most remarkable man in Europe." the Dedication of the Tale of a Tub to Prince Posterity, Swift says: "With these eyes I have beheld the person of William Wotton, B.D., who has written a good sizeable volume against [Sir W. Temple] in a most gentlemanly style, adorned with the utmost politeness and learning." In 1714 his affairs went wrong (he "had not a grain of economy") and he retired into South Wales. Here he threw himself into the language and the history of the land, wrote memoirs of the Cathedral Churches of St. David's and Llandaff; prepared an edition of the Laws of Hoel Dha,* preached in Welsh, and in 1722 published a Welsh sermon. He married "Ann, daughter of William Hammond, grand-daughter of John Marsham, Knight and Baron, of Egyptian fame, and cousin of Robert Marsham, Baron of Romney," so his epitaph on her tomb described her in his best Latin. She died in 1719, aged 48, and he in 1726, aged 59. His tombstone at Buxted, in Sussex, gives his age as 61; but as he died in February 1726, according to the same tombstone, he was only 59½ years old at the time of his death.

John Cutts, Baron Cutts of Gowran, entered Fellow• Correctly, Howel Dda.

Commoner in February 1676, aged fifteen. He owned Childerley, Cambs, his relative, Sir John Cutts of Childerley, having died without children. scholarly man, and wrote a considerable amount of not ungraceful verse, commencing with a rhyming "letter by a scholar of Mars to one of Apollo." He was famous for bravery, which seemed to go beyond all bounds of discretion; "brave and brainless as the sword he wears," his determined enemy, Dean Swift, described him. The engagements in which he specially distinguished himself included the capture of Buda (1686), the Boyne (1690), Steinkirk (1692), Namur (1695) where he earned the name of "the Salamander," Venloo (1702), Blenheim (1704) where he was third in command. Richard Steele was his private secretary and dedicated to him his Christian Hero; he published some of Cutts's verses in the Tatler. Thomas Goodwin's son, Thomas, dedicated his History of Edward V. to him. Atterbury preached the funeral sermon of his second wife, and both Tate and Hopkins published verses on her death. He died Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, and was buried in Christ Church, Dublin. There are two portraits of him in the Combination Room, and one in the National Portrait Gallery.

Benjamin Hoadly was born in 1676, the son of a famous head-master of Norwich Grammar School, by whom he was taught till he entered College in February 1691. His father was born in New England in 1643, his parents having fled from the Rebellion. In January 1696, Benjamin was Third Wrangler, having missed seven out of ten terms by reason of ill-health. It is said that the ill-feeling between Hoadly and Sherlock began in their undergraduate days, and a story in illus-

tration of this has been preserved. Sherlock, the story runs, was complimented by the tutor for the excellence of his rendering of a passage of a Greek author in a College lecture. As the undergraduates passed out of the lecture-room, Hoadly said to Sherlock, "Where did you get the crib?" Sherlock retorted, "The only crib in College is yours, and you never lend any one anything."

The ill-health which had spoiled his undergraduate life left him a cripple, and when he entered Holy Orders he had to preach in a kneeling attitude. He was elected to a Fellowship, August 23, 1697, and became tutor in 1699. In 1701 he married Sarah Curtis, a successful portrait painter, a pupil of Mary Beal; Hoadly's portrait in the National Portrait Gallery is by her. Forty-four years later he married Mary Newry, daughter of the Dean of Chichester. On his first marriage he became lecturer of St. Mildred's, Poultry, and soon after Rector of St. Peter-le-Poor, Broad Street.

He was very soon deep in controversy, for which he had a natural liking, and in which he showed great readiness. Miracles, conformity, assent and consent to the Book of Common Prayer, Episcopal Ordination, the happiness of Christians in this world, were his earliest subjects. In 1705 he preached a sermon before the Lord Mayor, in which he argued that only rulers who governed for the good of their people were entitled to obedience, and the Lower House of Convocation declared this "a dishonour done to the Church." Blackall, another Catharine man, Bishop of Exeter, declared in a sermon before the Queen in 1708, that rulers are ministers of God, and no one on earth can question or resist them. This Hoadlycontroverted. Atterbury's high

doctrine on the subject brought him into conflict with Hoadly, not for the first or second time. Hoadly thus rose to very high power with the Whigs, and in 1709 the House of Commons addressed the Queen to bestow some dignity upon him. A change of Government spoiled his chances.

The accession of George I. found Hoadly ready to accept Arian views and willing to pour flattery upon the new King: the next year he became Bishop of Bangor, retaining his benefices in London and Streatham, and never once entering his diocese. attacked the principles of the Non-jurors, and in 1717 preached his famous sermon on the "Nature of the Kingdom or Church of Christ." The Provost of Eton answered it, and thus initiated the "Bangorian Controversy." A committee of the Lower House of Convocation condemned the sermon as tending to subvert government and discipline in the Church of Christ, to impugn the royal supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, and to deny the authority of the Legislature to enforce obedience in matters of religion by civil sanctions. prevent this report being presented to the Upper House, Convocation was prorogued by the King to November 22, and did not meet again for the transaction of business till the reign of Queen Victoria. The Bangorian Controversy drew into its vortex all questions in dispute between Latitudinarians and Churchmen, and in the course of it Hoadly attacked Sherlock, at that time Dean of Chichester. In 1721 Hoadly became Bishop of Hereford, and had the satisfaction of agreeing in the condemnation of his old opponent Atterbury; he took no part in the debate on the question of Atterbury's impeachment in the Lords, being no orator, but he

wrote many powerful letters on it. In 1723 he became Bishop of Salisbury, and in 1734 Bishop of Winchester. He died at the age of eighty-five, at his palace in Chelsea, in 1761. As Bishop of Salisbury he was Prelate of the Garter (a distinction which has since passed to the Bishop of Oxford), and as Bishop of Winchester he was Chancellor; this has caused confusion in regard to his portraits. Pope hits him off as

Hoadly with his periods of a mile.

The Bishop did not send his sons to his own College. Benjamin and John went over the way to Corpus Christi in 1722 and 1730 respectively. Both of them were play-writers, and Garrick was a great friend of John, as was Hogarth also. The Bishop made his son Benjamin Registrar of Hereford during the short time he was Bishop there. His promotions of the younger son John are worth recording. John was of the Middle Temple, and proceeded Bachelor of Laws at Cambridge in 1735. His father having just become Bishop of Winchester, the following things happened to John in that year: Chancellor of Winchester, November 29, 1735; ordained Deacon December 7, 1735; ordained Priest December 21, 1735, being then twenty-four years and ten weeks old; Chaplain to the Prince of Wales. The year 1737 was a fat year: Rector of Mitchelmersh, Hants, March 8, 1737; of Wroughton, Wilts, September 8, 1737; of Alresford, Hants, November 29, 1737; Prebendary of Winchester, November 29, 1737. In June 1743 he added the Rectory of St. Mary, near Southampton, and in 1746 that of Overton, Hants. In 1760 he became Master of St. Cross, when he resigned Wroughton and the Prebend. The rest he still held when he died, an event which occurred in that same year 1760. His father himself died in 1761, as did also his rival in College and in the world, Thomas Sherlock. These two men ran courses curiously parallel: each was Third Wrangler; each was Fellow of St. Catharine's; each was Bishop of Bangor and Bishop of Salisbury; and they died in the same year.

Archbishop John Hoadly was a younger brother of Bishop Benjamin. He took his B.A. degree at Catharine in 1697, and was for some time under-master of Norwich Grammar School under his father. Bishop Burnet was his patron, and made him Prebendary, Archdeacon, and Chancellor, of Salisbury. In 1727 he became Bishop of Leighlin and Innis, in Ireland, and at once showed himself devoted to the King's interests and unusually competent to promote them. When the Archbishopric of Dublin fell vacant in 1729, the Primate declared that no one was so well fitted to do the King service, or so acceptable to the well-affected, or so useful in public affairs, as Hoadly, and he was appointed to the Archbishopric. In 1742, when the Primate died, the Duke of Devonshire, then Lord Lieutenant, told the King he could not do without Hoadly, and he became Primate. He and his son-in-law Boyle, the Earl of Shannon, were for many years the directors of Irish politics. Hoadly's influence was excellent, and as much as any man he furthered the best interests of the distressed country. He died in 1746, at the age of sixty-eight, greatly regretted by the friends of Ireland.

The College has provided other prelates for the Irish Church.

George Rust, Bishop of Dromore, graduated from St. Catharine's as Senior Wrangler in 1647, and two years after became Fellow of Christ's, holding his Fellowship till 1659. He and Jeremy Taylor were natives of Cambridge; Taylor incited Rust to Ireland, where he was ordained in 1661, and made him Dean of Connor that year. He preached Taylor's funeral sermon in 1667; succeeded him as Bishop of Dromore; and dying in the prime of life was buried in the same vault with his friend.

Francis Hutchinson entered at St. Catharine's in 1678, probably having kept some terms elsewhere. He graduated in 1680, was ordained, and obtained preferment in Suffolk; Mr. Gordon traces to that connection his book on witchcraft, which has so many details derived from actors in the trials. In 1721 he was consecrated to the Bishopric of Down and Connor. that office he exerted himself to effect a better understanding between the Irish and the English, publishing, for example, the Church Catechism in Irish, with the English "in the same karakter," and for English speakers he printed Irish primers phonetically in English character. He died in 1739. The Dictionary of National Biography gives a list of nineteen publications of his, besides sermons. One characteristic publication was The Certainty of Protestants a safer Foundation than the Infallibility of Papists.

Sir William Dawes, XIX., 1697-1714, was born in 1671, near Braintree, in Essex, of a staunch royalist family. Before he was twenty-one he wrote a religious work of much merit, *The Duties of the Closet*, and all his life he was a sincere and consistent Christian and Churchman. He was a Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, as an old Merchant Taylors' boy, but on the death of his two elder brothers he succeeded to his

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father's baronetcy, conferred after the Restoration for great services rendered and much financial help given to the royal cause, and he migrated to Catharine Hall as a nobleman, succeeding to the rooms in College which his eldest brother had occupied. In 1696, at the early age of twenty-five, he was unanimously elected Master of Catharine on the death of Dr. Eachard, a dispensation to elect him, though under the statutory age of thirty, being obtained August 2, 1697. In the same year he was made chaplain to William III., and in 1697 and 1698 Prebendary of Worcester and Dean of Bocking. In 1698 he served the office of Vice-Chancellor, at the age of twenty-six. At Bocking he established monthly Communions, preparing the way by an excellent treatise, The great Duty of Communicating explained and enforced.

In 1707 he was appointed to the Bishopric of Chester. In 1714, when Archbishop Sharp of York, an unusually discriminating man, was dying, he commended Dawes as his successor, and Dawes became Archbishop. On the death of Queen Anne he was appointed one of the regents of the kingdom till the arrival of the new king, having been in correspondence with the Electress Sophia, who had written to him, on the advice of her friends, as one of the most important persons in the kingdom.* He had also spoken strongly for the Hanoverian Succession in his place in the Lords. His combination of Tory principles in politics, High Church views in religion, and zeal for the settlement of the Crown, made him of great value. Bishop Burnet did not like him. In the History of his own times, he

^{*} His letter to the Electress from London. May 4, 1714, is printed in Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. ii. pp. 604, 605.

says (v. 361), "the Queen secretly engaged herself to Sir W. Dawes," without consulting her ministers. "Dawes was looked upon as an aspiring man, who would set himself at the head of the Tory party; so this nomination gave a great disgust."

Again,* speaking of the Bill for naturalising all foreign Protestants upon their taking the oaths to the Government and receiving the Sacrament in any Protestant church (1709), he says:

"I spoke copiously for the Bill, when it was brought up to the Lords; the Bishop of Chester spoke as zealously against it, for he seemed resolved to distinguish himself as a zealot for that which was called High Church."

Archdeacon Sharp, in the Life of his father, Archbishop Sharp (i. 332), says of Sir William Dawes that he

"was a person, whom, for his very great worth and abilities and inviolable attachment to the interests of the Church of England, his Grace had adopted in his wishes to succeed him in his pastoral charge. For he was a man of gravity and prudence, of decency and courtesy, of singular presence of mind, of extraordinary resolution and constancy, and yet of a moderate and cool spirit, and of exemplary regularity and exactness in all parts of life. And he had, moreover, a very strong and vigorous constitution, which fitted him to execute with ease the most laborious parts of the episcopal function, which in Archbishop Sharp's judgment was of no small moment in the choice of a Bishop. Upon these considerations (not to mention Sir William's other natural and personal advantages, viz., a tenacious memory, a graceful mien, a fine address, and a sweet elocution) he drew the Queen's affections upon that

^{*} Own Times, vi. 14.

Baronet. And having first procured him the Bishoprick of Chester, and made experiment of his prudence and assiduity in the management of that large diocese, he made the way more easy for his removal from thence to the metropolis of the province."

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From another observer we learn that Dawes was accounted the best preacher of his day. There is a strong and useful sermon* by him, preached before the University November 5, 1705, entitled "The Continual Plots and Attempts of the Romanists against the established Church and Government of England ever since the Reformation." Cole adds yet another encomium, as a painful decipherer of trying manuscripts: "Arch BP Dawes's writing is the clearest, roundest and best, I have ever seen." Thoresby dedicated to him his Vicaria Leodiensis.

Sir William Dawes died of internal inflammation in 1724, at the early age of fifty-three. His wife Frances, eldest daughter and co-heir of Sir Thomas D'Arcy, Bart., of Braxted Lodge in Essex, had died in 1705, at the age of twenty-nine, he being then thirty-four. Her touching epitaph in the Ante-chapel is well worthy of attention. Dr. James, President of Queens', had a mourning-ring in her memory; and in his Book of Accounts he makes an entry: "She died Dec. 22, 1705, to the exceeding grief of all that knew her." Their daughter Elizabeth married Sir William Milner, Bart., M.P. for the City, and was the ancestress of the Milners of Nun Appleton. Their son D'Arcy, also a Catharine man, succeeded to the title and left a son William, with whom the baronetcy became extinct in 1741, and a daughter Elizabeth, who married Edward Lascelles, and was the ancestress of the Earls of Harewood.

^{*} Cambridge, 1705, 4to.

It is worth while to mention an interesting fact in connection with Dawes and the Hanoverian Succession. In August 1714, Queen Anne's horse Star won the cup given by the sovereign for a race at York, only a few hours before the Queen died. The "express" brought the news of her death to the course on a succeeding day, and the Lord Mayor and Archbishop proclaimed George I. and stopped the sports. The course was at that time on the Clifton and Rawcliffe Ings, not as now on Knavesmire. The course was moved to Knavesmire in 1730, in consequence of the flooding of the Ings. In the time of Charles I. the course was on Acomb Moor.

We have in the College the following letter from Sir William Dawes to the President of the College, in a very clear round hand which goes far to justify Cole's encomium on his handwriting:

"Kensington, April ye 10th, 1714.

"Sr

"After the best advice woh I have been able to take with the B^p of Exeter* and other the best friends of our College, we are unanimously agreed, that it will be most for the present service of the College, that Dr. Sherlock should succeed me in the Mastership of it. And we the rather agree in this, because, upon communicating such our thoughts to my Lord Chancell he was pleased to declare that, if this should be, he would immediately consent to the annexing of a Præbend of Norwich to our Mastership, by Act of Parliament. That, therefore, we may lay hold of the present favourable opportunity, I have together with

* Offspring Blackall, late Fellow of the College. He and Dawes were the only Bishops of the College at the time. Hoadly was made Bishop two years later, but Dawes was not likely to consult him.

this sent my Resignation, and recommend it to you to choose Dr. Sherlock your Master, wo, as it luckily happens, will be at Thar field till Thursday night next, by woh time, I hope, you will have chosen him, and notify d your election to him. I recommend this to y'self and the other Fellows, out of pure kindness to the College and y'self in particular, wo, I hope, will, ere it be long, enjoy the advantage of a Præbend of Norwich being annex d to your Mastership. In the mean time, be you and all the Fellows assur'd, that I will ever be your and their

"Affectionate Friend,

"W : EBOR :

"Dr. Sherlock is privy to what I write."

The President at this time was Thomas Crosse, who had been a Fellow for ten years. The personal suggestion made to Crosse by Dawes appears to mean that, if he consents to the election of Sherlock, who had ceased to be a Fellow, instead of himself, he will not have long to wait for the Mastership, and when it does come it will carry a Canonry; whereas if he secures the Mastership now, the Lord Chancellor will not care to annex the Canonry. The letter is, if this view is correct, an excellent example of the tact of Dawes. Crosse became Master and Canon five years later, and held those offices for seventeen years.

In the present day, when there is so much activity in University and ecclesiastical spheres, it is less easy than it was in the times of Queen Anne and the Georges to perform with completeness the functions of a Master of a College in Cambridge and a Canon Residentiary in Norwich. The late Dr. Philpott told the present writer that all the time he held the double office he kept every term in Cambridge and kept all his Norwich residences in the long vacation. Certainly during all that time there was no man in Cambridge who did a larger share of the most important and delicate work of the University than Dr. Philpott. As Chairman of the recent Commission after Sir A. Cockburn's death, he stated it as his opinion that each office was a great support to the fulfilment of the duties of the other.

The Act was passed June 6, 1714, Lord Harcourt having in Parliament strenuously and successfully resisted the insertion of words which would have hampered the College. The Dean of Norwich was the well-known Dr. Prideaux, and he fought hard against what he regarded as likely to be mischievous in the future and certainly anomalous and contrary to his Cathedral Statutes in the present. In the Commons, "Sir Thomas Hanmer the Speaker, Sir Jacob Astley, and Robert Walpole, Esq., did take all pains to have befriended the Church in this matter, but without success," for the Lord Chancellor procured the rejection of every emendation.*

Defeated in Parliament, the Dean had other weapons ready for use when the occasion should come. It came in less than three years. Richard Brodrip, one of the Canons, died Feb. 11, 1717. Dr. Sherlock thereupon wrote to the Dean, who replied that the Statutes of the Church he had sworn as Dean to observe forbad any person to be Prebendary of Norwich who was Dean or Prebendary of any other church. "Dr. Sherlock being both, that is, Dean of Chichester and Prebendary of Paul's, we can for this reason not admit him." It was, no doubt, a rather appalling list of offices—Dean of Chi-

^{*} This account is taken from Dean Prideaux's MS. Diary in the custody of the Dean of Norwich.

chester, Prebendary of St. Paul's, Master of St. Catharine's, and Prebendary of Norwich. A mere nothing to the early times, before the Reformation, when one man could hold more than one hundred pieces of Church preferment; but for a post-Reformation proceeding it was going very far.

Dr. Sherlock, of course, applied for a mandamus. An ingenious judgment was given in his favour. The Cathedral Statutes had a clause empowering the Crown to alter Statutes or make new ones. The Crown had exercised this power, and had altered this particular Statute by the Act annexing the Canonry to the Mastership. The mandamus went, and on July 10, 1719, after two and a half years of delay, the following entry was made in the Norwich records:

"Dr. Thomas Sherlock, Master of Catharine Hall in Cambridge, was by virtue of Queen Anne's letters patents and a peremptory mandamus issued out of the King's Bench, thereupon admitted and installed into the Prebendship of this Cathedral Church which was voided by the death of Mr. Brodrip."

Dr. Sherlock resigned the Mastership the same year, and his successor, Dr. Crosse, was admitted to the Prebend without further protest.

Sherlock's father, William Sherlock, was Prebendary of St. Paul's, and became Master of the Temple in 1685; in 1691 he succeeded Tillotson as Dean of St. Paul's. Robert South, the Prebendary of Westminster, bitterly attacked the Prebendary of St. Paul's, William, on the Socinian question, dedicating his *Animadversions* to "the admirers of Dr. Sherlock, himself the chief of them." He attacked him also for his changes of view, declaring that there was "hardly one subject

that he has wrote upon, that of popery only excepted, but he has written for and against it too." Three years before his son Thomas entered at St. Catharine's, Sherlock, as a chief among the Non-jurors, had led the opposition to the oath to William and Mary; and after the battle of the Boyne had taken the oath. He was the subject of many epigrams, one of the best of them attributing to him the desire so to go with the times that he might succeed to London or Canterbury; it is curious that his son held the one See and declined the other.

"When Sherlock at Temple was taking a boat,
The waterman asked him which way he would float.
'Which way,' quoth the Master, 'why, fool, with the
stream':

To Paul's or to Lambeth, 'twas all one to him."

His son Thomas did not escape like suggestions; he preached a sermon at the Temple the Sunday after the defeat of the Scots at Preston, which the benchers said ought to have been preached the Sunday before.

Sherlock was ordained by Patrick, Bishop of Ely, in 1701, and at the close of 1704 succeeded his father in the Mastership of the Temple, an office which he held till 1753. He became exceedingly popular as a preacher at the Temple. It is said in his funeral sermon that he spoke "with such strength and vehemence that he never failed to take possession of his whole audience and secure their attention." He was a man of powerful and athletic build; Pope called him "the plunging prelate"; the French Ambassador described him as "with the head of a bull and the eye of an eagle." In 1711 he became Chaplain to Queen Anne, and in 1713 Prebendary of St. Paul's. The next year he returned to Cambridge as Master of St. Catharine's, but only held the office for

five years. In that short time he arranged the archives of the University, and succeeded in so baffling Bentley that that troublesome person nicknamed him Alberoni, after the violent habit in which Bentley indulged; Sherlock's brother-in-law Gooch, Master of Caius and Bishop of Bristol, he called "that Gotch of Caius"; and when one of the ablest of the Heads of Houses, Ashton of Jesus College, asked for delay on some matter, as his mind was not clear, Bentley protested against waiting till Dr. Ashton's mud settled.

In the later years of his Mastership, Sherlock became chairman of a committee of the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury to report on Hoadly's Nature of the Kingdom of Christ. It is a curious fact that these two Fellows of so small a College should be the leaders on the two sides of the Bangorian Controversy, and now they hang peacefully side by side in the College Hall. The Government of the day would not allow the controversy to come to a head officially, and in 1717 Convocation was dissolved, not to meet again till the middle of the next century. In 1718 Sherlock wrote against Hoadly, and George I. struck him off the list of Royal Chaplains. In 1728 he was made, in succession to Hoadly, Bishop of Bangor, and at once became a political power in the House of Lords. In 1734 he was made Bishop of Salisbury, again in succession to Hoadly; in 1743 he refused the Archbishopric of York; and in 1747 the Archbishopric of Canterbury, on account of ill-health. In 1748 he became Bishop of London. In 1761 he died. The summary of his character by Mr. Hutton, in the Dictionary of National Biography, is just: "An ambitious and popular man, an industrious and efficient Bishop; he cultivated kindly relations with the dissenters, and was in favour of comprehension; he pleaded after the '45 for justice to the Scots episcopalian clergy." He was the Episcopal orator in the Lords.

Sherlock's benefactions to the College are noted elsewhere. Dr. Philpott in his notes remarks severely on the niggardly help given to the College by "the Liberal Hoadly" in comparison with his rival Sherlock. Towards the new University Library, Sherlock gave £200 and Hoadly £100.

John Thomascame up to St. Catharine's from Merchant Taylors' School and took his B.A. degree in 1713. His knowledge of German, chiefly acquired when he was chaplain to the English merchants in Hamburg, made him useful to George II. He became successively Dean of Peterborough, 1740; Bishop of St. Asaph elect, 1743; Bishop of Lincoln, 1744; Bishop of Salisbury, 1757. The first of his four wives was a niece of Sherlock. On his fourth marriage he is said to have had a posy ring with the legend "If I survive I'll make them five" (D. N. B.). Another John Thomas, five years younger than this John, was Bishop of Peterborough, Salisbury, and Winchester, and these two were often confused. They were differentiated by physical defects: the younger John squinted; the elder was deaf.

CHAPTER XVIII

Election of a Welshman to a Fellowship, in connection with 27 Hen. 8, c. 26—Election of Dr. Hubbard to the Mastership—Edward Capell—Mrs. Ramsden's large benefaction—Purchases of sites for her buildings—Election of her Fellows and Scholars—Poor Rates questions—Gifts of money to the College—Dr. Sherlock's benefactions—Incomes of Fellowships from 1684 to 1853—Sources of income.

A QUESTION was raised in the College in 1730 by a proposal to elect to a Fellowship Humphry Hanmer born in Flintshire, notwithstanding the clause in the Statutes, "intra regnum Angliæ oriundi sint." The opinion of Mr. Samuel Gatward was taken. It was to the effect that the Act 27 Hen. 8, c. 26, gave to all persons born in Wales the same rights as other the King's subjects enjoy, and incorporated the dominion of Wales into the realm of England. Hanmer was thereupon elected. Mr. Gatward's opinion has been shown to be sound.

In 1736, on the death of Dr. Crosse, John Sayer, B.D., late Fellow of Queens', was elected Master. He was then of Wickham Market, and he had been one of Dr. Crosse's assigns for conveying to the College the property given by him. Sayer was not admitted to the office, which he resigned in six weeks' time on October 11. In his place Dr. Edward Hubbard was unanimously elected on October 16. He had signed the order of election of Sayer on September 2, and resigned his Fellowship on October 5. There had been a ques-

tion about his Fellowship seventeen years before which it is not easy to understand. On the face of it he might be supposed to have had Jacobite leanings, but some of the details do not quite fit with that. The dates, too, are puzzling. On July 4, 1719, the following College Order was made:

"It is hereby declared by the Master and Fellows that the Fellowship of Mr. Edward Hubbard (he not having brought a certificate of his taking the oaths to the King, &c. as required by an Act of Parliament in that behalf provided) is vacant."

This Order was signed by Sherlock as Master, and by the President, Thomas Crosse. On July 6, 1719, Hubbard was unanimously elected Fellow, was again admitted the same day, and this time took the usual oath and made the usual declaration.

Edward Hubbard was an Ipswich man, the older brother of Henry Hubbard. Henry was Conduct Fellow of the College 1729-32, when he was elected Fellow of Emmanuel, becoming afterwards well known as the Registrary of the University.

Mention has been made of the Capell family as sending sons to St. Catharine's. Besides Gamaliel Capell, F. C., 1638, and Francis Capell, P. 1638, Edward Capell, the editor of Shakspere's works, was a member of St. Catharine's, entering about the year 1730. He was a son of Gamaliel Capell, Rector of Stanton, in Suffolk, and was born in 1713. The Duke of Grafton became his patron, Stanton being near Euston, and appointed him deputy inspector of plays when he was only twenty-four years of age. In 1768 he published his ten-volume edition of Shakspere, and before his death in 1781 he

had prepared and partly published an edition in three volumes quarto. He still has the reputation of an acute textual critic. His third volume, issued two years after his death, is full of valuable collateral matter. library was of great value; he presented the principal part of it to Trinity College, Cambridge. He said of Garrick, once his intimate friend, that he spoke many speeches of Shakspere without understanding them. Johnson did not like Capell; he declared, in reference to his close criticism of text, that his abilities were just sufficient to select the black hairs from the white for the use of wig-makers. There is a fine medallion bust of Capell in the edition of his works (Origin of Shakspere's Fables), from a "model in plaister taken from the Life by Roubilliac." Twenty copies of the catalogue of his gift to the Trinity Library were printed privately in 1779.

In 1745 came the largest of the benefactions which the College has received. Mrs. Mary Ramsden, widow, of Norton, in the county of York, niece of Mr. Skerne, named above as a benefactor, and heiress of the Skerne estates, left to the College all her lands &c. in the townships of Fockerby, Adlingfleet, Haldenby, Linton-upon-Wharfe, Burrowby, and Norton, all in Yorkshire, and of Garthorp and Luddington in Lincolnshire. The trustees were to procure ground for building chambers for six Fellows and ten Scholars, to be maintained out of her estates. She gave all her pictures to the Master and Fellows to be set up in some proper place in the College.* And being greatly interested in the practical working of her estates, she desired the Master and Fellows "to be very careful that the lands of the several

^{*} See Appendix.

estates given by me be not ploughed up to their impoverishment." Further, being warmly attached to her tenants and their families, and being evidently a lady of much decision of character, and very clear that her own arrangements were so good as to be final, she ordered that the rents should be left always as they were at the time of her death; they must not be raised. Such a cataclysm as a heavy fall in the value of agricultural land was not present to the Yorkshire squire's imagination at that time.

The Fellowships were to be £52 a year each, with chambers rent free; the Scholarships £15 a year each, with chambers rent free. These may seem small stipends, but in fact they were large; the whole stipend of a Fellow of the College in the year in which the will was made was £25 19s. 8d. The net annual value of the landed estate, after incumbrances were paid off, was ascertained to be £674 at the time of Mrs. Ramsden's death, April 5, 1745. This, with the personal estate, was fully sufficient for the building and the stipends at the then rates. Indeed, down to the date of her benefaction, the whole income of the College, for the maintenance of a Master, eight Fellows, and thirty Scholars, had been only £480 a year, and she allowed £462 a year for her six Fellows and ten Scholars. Her benefaction raised the College income to £1154; but of that amount a considerable sum was capitalised for buildings.

Mrs. Ramsden placed the following restriction upon the application of her endowment: "In regard that I was born in Yorkshire, where my ancestors have been settled, and that the estates by which my foundation is to be maintained lie for much the greatest part in that county," Yorkshiremen are to have the first preference, then Lincolnshiremen, and then any one born in England or Wales could come in. Restrictions of this nature have been very generally removed in these enlightened days. It is not in such removal that we find our best evidence of enlightenment. The result is more and more to put educational endowments into the hands of students whose parents are rich enough to have their sons carefully prepared for successful competition.

Several houses were bought to make room for the new buildings, including one which the College had sold in 1556 to John Mere. An Act of Parliament was passed to enable the College to acquire properties for the purpose and other corporations to sell. George II. granted (April 14, 1756) letters patent authorising the College to hold Mrs. Ramsden's lands in mortmain to the extent of £674 a year, and also any lands purchased with the personal estate, and any further benefactions for the encouragement of learning to the extent of another £500 a year. The Act and Licence cost in all £349 17s. The foundation-stone was laid July 1, 1757, when one guinea was given to the bricklayers. On March 27, 1765, the Court of Chancery directed that instead of a building for six Fellows and ten Scholars, the College should build for twelve persons, and place four of the Scholars in existing parts of the College, £14 a year being paid to the College fund from the Ramsden fund as a consideration. accounts for the present arrangement of rooms in the Ramsden buildings. They cost £5521 10s. 4d. are handsome chambers, three rooms in each set.

The first Fellows on Mrs. Ramsden's foundation were elected November 10, 1772. There have been in all

forty-one Fellows, down to 1854 when G. B. Morley was elected. In 1859, on the death of Archdeacon Hardwicke, the University Commissioners gave the College authority to suspend the election of a successor; and a like authority was given in 1860 on the marriage of Dr. Ogle. The College Statutes, soon after made by the Commissioners, amalgamated the Ramsden foundation with the College. The last of the Fellows, Mr. Parr, died in 1889, when the amalgamation became complete.

The first Scholars were elected November 24, 1772. Scholarships, like the Fellowships, are now amalgamated with the College. In the time of the present writer it was vividly impressed upon the undergraduate mind that the Skerne lands lay below highwater mark, and that they were expensive lands to manage. The quarterly payments to the Skerne Scholars were not what the Scholars had been led by the printed account to expect. The explanation given was that the lands had recently been "warped," and the rents were lost for the interesting period during which the estate was out of sight. Possibly the next generation of Scholars received quarterly payments exceeding the amount stated, on the ground of the enhanced rents obtained for the enriched fields. The crops are heavy for years after the fertile mud of the Ouse has been deposited on the surface. On the occasion of a visit of the Yorkshire tenants to the College some years ago, they were shown, among other things, the portraits in the Hall and Combination Room. No one made a remark of any kind until the portrait of an exceedingly plumpfaced gentleman was reached. "Ah!" the principal tenant exclaimed, moved to genuine enthusiasm, "looks as if he was raised on warped land."

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Some amusing occurrences resulted from the removal of houses to make way for the Ramsden buildings and the Butler's and Porter's houses. The collectors of land-tax for St. Benet's parish, not being able to get the money which they demanded as though the houses were still standing, seized the Bursar's horse, which stood in the College stable erected on the site. He brought an action against them in the King's Bench, but lost it, and had to pay £94 10s. costs. The ground was that, though the Land Tax Act exempted the sites of Colleges, this was not a College site at the time of passing the last Act. The College was advised (by Mr. Yorke) that if the next Act contained the same exemption, the new site would be exempt; and this proved to be the case by an appeal on the part of All Souls College.

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The parish officers then demanded poors-rate, and of this demand the College took no notice. A second and a third rate was made with the same result. then got a distress warrant, entered the Butler's house, and seized a silver cream-jug and some spoons; but the plunder proved to be the private property of the Butler. The parish authorities then made two further rates and demanded payment, and of this again no notice was taken by the College. The authorities got another distress warrant, and this time they selected the Porter's house. They carried off a silver watch, and some chairs, tables, and glasses; but again the plunder did not belong to the College, it was all of it the private property of the Porter. The matter was dealt with at Quarter Sessions in 1772, with very slight advantage to the College, and in 1774 the Court of King's Bench, under Lord Mansfield's presidency, gave the final

decision which rules all such cases, that "a Corporation seized of lands in fee for their own profit are liable in their corporate capacity to be rated to the Poor."

There had been a good many small benefactions of money, of that useful kind which is not saddled with conditions. Not Colleges only, but the Universities also—and especially the Universities—find it most useful to have money placed at their disposal for any purpose which seems at the time most to need help.

Dr. Addenbrooke, formerly Fellow [? Dean of Lichfield], the Founder of Addenbrooke's Hospital, left £110 in 1719; Leng, formerly Fellow, Bishop of Norwich, £20 in 1729; Moore, whose son is buried in the Ante-chapel, £100 in 1730; Hubbard, late Master, £40 in 1743; Sir W. Bunbury, Bart., entered in 1726, £100 in 1766.

Bishop Sherlock's benefactions deserve a place to themselves. In 1756 he gave the College £600 to alter and refit the Library, and in 1760 he paid the balance of cost, £21 9s. 1d. He died soon after this, July 18, 1761, leaving to the College his books (which cost £29 1s. 2d. for packing and carriage), and leaving lands to pay £20 a year to a Librarian-scholar and £4 a year for his rooms, the remaining rents to be spent in repairs of the Library and keeping the rooms sweet and clean, and in keeping up the iron rails and painting them. These are the iron rails in Queens' Lane, for which Dr. Sherlock had long ago paid, described as "noble palisadoes" in the language of the time.

In connection with Mrs. Ramsden's large bequest, we have remarked on the small stipends of the Fellows in the middle of the eighteenth century. Dr. Philpott worked out with much labour and minute care the

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annual receipts of a Fellowship for every year from 1684 to 1853 inclusive, and the facts are of considerable interest. A short review of them may well find place at this point.

The sources of income have altered slightly from time to time. For the first fifty years of the period they were seven,—Corn Money, Degrees, Beer, Bread, Scholars' absence, Rent of a house, Fines. In 1730, "dividend from coals" was added. In 1807 Bread disappeared; in 1843, Beer; and in 1852, Scholars' absence.

Fines disappeared in 1832, no money on that account having been brought to book in fourteen of the previous twenty-five years, and the total divisible amount on this account for those twenty-five years having been only £82 11s. 2d., or an average of about £3 6s. to be divided among the Master and Fellows. The largest amount divisible in any of the years 1684 to 1853 fell within these twenty-five years in 1810, and was £35 16s. 8d.

The College documents have, of course, many records of the gradual termination of fines. The method practised was to decline to renew a lease in a given year; to borrow from some College Fund the amount which would have been received as the fine for renewing it; and to divide that amount among the Master and Fellows for that year. Thus we have the entries, "A fine of £18 15s. was borrowed from the Audit Book and paid to the Master and Fellows"; "A fine of £23 10s. 6d. was borrowed from the Chapel Fund and paid, &c."; "A fine of £99 6s. 6d. was borrowed from the Chapel Fund and paid, &c." The Chapel Fund and the Audit Book were the two lenders; in a transaction



From a photograph by] [f. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge THE LIBRARY, AS REFITTED A.D. 1756.

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of this kind in 1775 the words "without interest" are used, and no doubt that was the general principle of the loans.

Corn Money, which began in 1684 at £71 2s. 9d., was at its very lowest in 1706 and 1707, when the divisible amount was only £42 3s. 11d. and £43 0s. 9d. respectively; 1745 was a very bad year, £49 13s. 8d.; it had been up to £131 5s. in 1710. The profit on the supply of beer and bread varied considerably, as might be expected. It began in 1684 with £28 4s. 6d., and for a great many years that was above the average. About forty-five persons were in commons in 1684; in 1690, when the profit fell to £11 3s., about thirty-six. In the latter year, only £5 8s. was received from payments for Degrees; in the former, £52 16s.

The full dividend of a Fellow, taken at intervals of ten years, has been as follows:

	£	s.	d.	1	£	s.	d.	1	£	s.	d.
1684	24	18	0	1744	21	5	3	1804	108	19	11
1694	29	12	8	1754	31	4	1	1814	193	11	6
1704	17	17	0	1764	32	3	0	1824	226	4	1
1714	25	19	11	1774	37	15	9	1834	194	6	5
1724	34	18	1	1784	84	8	6	1844	207	12	9
1734	25	15	6	1794	77	16	1	1853	188	11	6

A few words should be said on the subject of Corn Money, as it affected the Master and Fellows.

Before the Act 18 Eliz. c. 6, entitled "An Act for Maintenance of the Colleges in the Universities and of Winchester and Eaton," the farms being let on beneficial leases, all the reserved (annual) rents were carried to the College Stock, and from that Stock the fixed stipends of the Master and Fellows were paid. Besides this fixed payment, the fines on renewals of leases were divided among the Master and Fellows.

Elizabeth's Act ordered that of the reserved rents in the case of every lease, one-third part should in future be paid in wheat or malt, reckoning wheat at 6s. 8d. and malt at 5s. the quarter. The effect of this will be seen from our records of receipts from the Hutton property. Down to and including 1581, the reserved annual money rent was 20s. In the next lease, 1582, the reserved money rent was 13s. 4d., and one quarter of wheat was to be paid besides, or its money value in Cambridge Market at the time.

A section of the Act enabled the Master and Fellows to derive larger receipts beyond their stipends. The wheat, malt, or money coming from the same, were to be expended for the relief of the commons and diet of the said Colleges only. The College thereupon commenced a new mode of keeping the accounts. The full total of reserved money rents before the Act, which was £59 19s. 1d., continued to be brought into the College Stock and applied to the payment of the fixed stipends. But the enhanced value of wheat and malt made the actual receipts from the rent money and the corn or corn money larger than £59 19s. 1d. The difference between the old £59 19s. 1d. and the new and enhanced receipts was divided among the Master and Fellows.

It is an interesting example of the natural conservativeness of the annual accounts of a College that this fixed sum of £59 19s. 1d., coming from before Elizabeth's time, and all the several sums which made it up, were carried into the College books each year until 1799. From that time the details were omitted, but the total, £59 19s. 1d., continued to be brought into the account until the Statutes or 1860.

CHAPTER XIX

MRS. MARY RAMSDEN

Pedigree—Great-niece of our benefactor Robert Skerne—
Her marriage settlements and their result—Owner of
Fockerby—Purchase of Norton—Conveyance of estates
for life or absolutely—All that was her own left to the
College—Reversion of the estates which she had held for
life—Thomas Morley—The whole benefaction was of
Skerne property, not Ramsden.

MRS. MARY RAMSDEN deserves a chapter to herself. She was the younger daughter of Robert Robinson, Esq., of Fockerby, co. York, who was buried at Adlingfleet in 1702. Her grandmother, Mary Robinson, from whom she was named, was the sister of Sir Edmund Skerne, and of Mr. Robert Skerne who was so great a benefactor to the College. It has been remarked (page 90) in connection with his benefaction that he had been cognisant of the hard treatment the College had suffered in an earlier case, and was probably induced on that account to give money to the College. This regard for the College was, no doubt, handed on to his great-niece by a fortunate tradition. He died in 1662, and she was not born then.

Mrs. Ramsden had a brother, Thomas Robinson, who died in 1709; and a sister Elizabeth, who married the Reverend Henry Brearey, Rector of Boxworth near Cambridge, and died without children in 1719. This left our future benefactress sole heiress of Fockerby, worth about £300 a year net, and of the other property

of their late father. Mr. Brearey was still living, and receiving the income of a co-heiress's widower, in 1741. The whole story is a curious example of the dying out of heirs and heiresses.

Robert Robinson, Mrs. Ramsden's father, was the son of Robert Robinson and Mary Skerne. He inherited from our benefactor, his uncle Robert Skerne, whose sons John and Robert had died in 1651 and 1657, the estates of Adlingfleet and Fockerby, in 1662. In 1671 he sold Adlingfleet to his brother Thomas Robinson. We shall see that Mrs. Ramsden first inherited from her father the price paid for Adlingfleet, and then from her uncle had Adlingfleet itself for life, which meant thirty-three years, a very unusual piece of family luck.

In 1711, Mary Robinson, our benefactress, married William Ramsden, the son of John Ramsden of Norton, co. York, and his wife Catharine, a daughter of John Dawnay, Viscount Downe. This John Ramsden was the son of William, a merchant of Hull, by a sister of Sir John Boynton of Rawcliff. It was this grandfather William who built the house at Norton; he was at one time the Representative of Hull in Parliament.

Mrs. Ramsden's husband, William, died six years after his marriage, in 1717, leaving no children, and was buried at Campsall. His father, John, lived half a year longer, and was buried at Campsall. His mother, Catharine, lived till 1737, and was buried at St. Martin's Coney Street, York.

By her marriage settlement, Mrs. Ramsden was entitled, in case of her husband's death, to the use for life of the Manor of Norton, and the house and lands of Norton, Campsall, Little Smeaton, Womersley, Cottingham, and all the glebe and tithes of Bilton, Wyton, and

Throckleby, and certain lands in Neyton and Killingholme. It had not been contemplated, apparently, that her father-in-law would survive her husband, but so it was, and very uncomfortable conditions resulted. John Ramsden refused to turn out. Mary, who was a person of very decided character, had him arrested, and took proceedings to establish her rights at law. This perhaps may account for his speedy death.

A Yorkshireman, very familiar with a great many of the places named, and knowing a good deal about the families concerned, may be allowed to tell the story how a hundred and twenty or thirty years lateranother Ramsden met more than his match in Yorkshire. The whole of one of the manufacturing towns in Yorkshire belonged to this Ramsden, excepting one house, the property of a Quaker. The Ramsden bid higher and higher for the vineyard, but Naboth would not sell. At last the desire for the house became so great that the offer was made, tremendous in those days, "If you'll sell, I'll cover the ground-floor of the house with sovereigns".* "Friend, did thee say edgewise?"†

Mrs. Ramsden was determined to make her right to Norton permanent. Her husband had had three sisters, one of whom died in 1682, twenty years before his marriage, another died at some date which we do not know, and there remained only Elizabeth, who married Richard Roundell, Esq., of Hutton Wensley.‡ The Norton property was to come to Mrs. Roundell eventually. In 1736, Mrs. Ramsden bought of her the reversion for £2850, and the manor and lands of Norton

^{*} Over £1500 the square yard. † Over £24,000 the square yard. ‡ Sir D'Arcy Dawes, son of Sir William Dawes our Master, married their co-heiress, Janet, in 1723. She afterwards married

became her own. Three or four years before that purchase she had bought up lands in Norton, which were not part of her late husband's property, for £1800, making a total investment of £4650. At the same time she was buying up additional lands at Fockerby, Adlingfleet, and Haldenby, to the amount of £2820.

The mention of Adlingfleet takes us back to the sale of that manor in 1671 by her father to his elder brother Thomas. This Thomas died unmarried in 1710, a year before Mrs. Ramsden's marriage. He had three nieces, Mrs. Brearey and Mrs. Ramsden, daughters of his brother John, and Frances Lady Ayscough, widow of Sir William Ayscough, daughter of his sister Anne.

Thomas Robinson left his estates at Throsonby and Newby, and the Rectory of Scalby, to Lady Ayscough for life, with reversion to her sons if any; in default of sons, to Mary Robinson (Mrs. Ramsden) for her life, with like reversion; in default of sons, "to such son of Thomas Morley [a Quaker] as should be brought up in or embrace the doctrine of the Church of England." Lady Ayscough died without children in 1714, and this considerable property came to Mrs. Ramsden for life. Throsonby, near Scarborough, was a favourite residence.

To Elizabeth Robinson, Mrs. Ramsden's elder sister, afterwards Mrs. Brearey, he left his lands at Linton on Wharfe and Burrowby for her life, with reversion to her sons if any; in default of sons, to Mary Robinson (Mrs. Ramsden) for her life, with like reversion; in default of sons, to "his right heirs." On the death of Mrs. Brearey in 1719 the estates came to Mrs. Ramsden for her life; and inasmuch as she was then, by the deaths of Lady Ayscough and Mrs. Brearey, and of Peter and Frances his brother and sister, the right heir of her uncle, the

estates became hers absolutely, and at her death they came to the College.

To his niece Mary (Mrs. Ramsden) he left Adling-fleet for her life, with reversion to her sons if any; in default of sons, to Lady Ayscough and her sons if any; in default of such sons, to such son of Thomas Morley as should be brought up in or embrace the doctrine of the Church of England. He also directed that his estate at Hundridge should be sold, and the produce of it, together with his personal property (about £12,000), should be expended in the purchase of lands in Yorkshire or Lincolnshire for the use of Mary Robinson in the same way as she had the use of Adlingfleet.

Thus in one way and another everything there was in the Robinson family came to Mrs. Ramsden for her life or absolutely, and out of her large income she made heavy purchases of additional lands which became her own. Everything which was her own came to the College, "and I would have it observed," her will says, "that the estate I give is all my own, that I had no part of it from my husband." Everything which was only hers for life went, on her death in 1745, to Thomas Morley.

It seems clear that this great benefaction, and the College buildings which are its visible record, are more properly described as "Skerne" than as "Ramsden."

CHAPTER XX

Francis Blackburne—Christopher Wilson—Neville Maskelyne—John Hey—Joseph Milner—College disputes, leading to the ruling case as to the Visitor of a College—Appeals to the Visitor—Patronage Fund—The case of Philip Gardner's vacancy—The case of Mr. Waterhouse—Disputed election to the Mastership—Appointment of Joseph Procter—Five Masters, xxi-xxv, 1719-1845: Crosse, Hubbard, Prescot, Yates, Procter.

Francis Blackburne,* of Richmond, Yorks, entered in 1722. He was elected to the Conduct Fellowship in February 1728. He appears to have been ordained Deacon on the title of the Conduct Fellowship, and he was not ordained priest till 1739, when he succeeded to the Rectory of Richmond, a benefice which he held till his death in 1787. Archbishop Hutton collated him to the Archdeaconry of Cleveland and the Prebend of Bilton in 1750, being, it is said, greatly deceived as to his views. He was almost entirely latitudinarian. 1752 he published an anonymous attack upon the primary charge of Bishop Butler, who had been promoted from Bristol to Durham. In this attack, published with his name in 1767, he charged Butler with Romanising, on the ground of his argument in favour of the Use and Importance of External Religion. He determined never again to subscribe the Thirtynine Articles. His book, named the Confessional. claimed that no pledge of opinions should be

Another Francis Blackburne was elected one of the first six Yorkshire Fellows on the Skerne Foundation, Nov. 10, 1772.

demanded of "protestant pastors," by which he meant the clergy of the Church of England among others, beyond a profession of belief in the Bible as the Word of God. He was the main mover in the petition of 1771 to the House of Commons for legislation to relieve the clergy from subscription. The petition was very poorly signed by the clergy, and Blackburne was the only dignitary who signed. The Commons rejected it in 1772. Lindsey and Disney, his sons-in-law, who agreed with him in principle, resigned their benefices and left the Church of England to join the Unitarians. Disney was the father of John Disney who founded the Professorship of Archæology at Cambridge, and John's daughter presented the portrait of the Archdeacon, now in the Combination Room. This portrait bears on one of its eyes an indention made by the walkingstick of an orthodox and militant Fellow-Commoner when he heard what manner of Churchman the portrait represented.

Christopher Wilson was the third son of Richard Wilson, Recorder of Leeds. He married Ann, daughter of Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London. His eldest son, Richard, married the heiress of Dean Fountayne of York, of Melton Park, near Doncaster, and their son became Fountayne Wilson of Melton Park. It is interesting to find that the friendship between the Fountaynes and Wilson began at St. Catharine's, Wilson entering Pensioner under Mr. Hubbard in 1732, and Thomas and John Fountayne in 1731. John Fountayne, afterwards Dean of York, succeeded Simon Patrick as Fellow in 1736, holding his Fellowship for five years; and Wilson succeeded William Bunbury as Fellow in 1737, holding his Fellowship till 1745. In

that year he was made Prebendary of Finsbury in St. Paul's, and in 1758 he became Residentiary Canon. In 1783 he became Bishop of Bristol, in 1792 he died. The first Canonry of St. Paul's, which he held for so many years, was held immediately before him for eight years by Thomas Secker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and for ten years next before Secker by Joseph Butler, afterwards Bishop of Durham; and from 1891 to 1897 by the present writer; all of these four became Bishops of Bristol.

Nevil Maskelyne, the Astronomer Royal, entered Pensioner at St. Catharine's in 1749, from Westminster School. After a time he migrated to Trinity, as Ray had done just a hundred years before. He graduated as Seventh Wrangler in 1754, and was elected to a Fellowship at Trinity in 1757. Lord Clive, the son of his sister Margaret Lady Clive, presented him to a living in Shropshire, and in 1782 Trinity presented him to North Runcton in Norfolk. Meanwhile, the famous solar eclipse of his time had turned his mathematical genius in the direction of astronomy, and he was sent out to St. Helena by the Royal Society to observe the Transit of Venus in 1761. In 1765 he became Astronomer Royal, and we need not describe his work in that office. He died in 1811, leaving his only daughter the heiress to his estates in Wiltshire. married Mr. A. M. Story, and their son, Mr. Nevil Story-Maskelyne, a well-known Oxford Professor, now holds the family estates.

John Hey, Norrisian Professor of Divinity, entered Pensioner at St. Catharine's in 1750-51, from Pudsey, near Leeds. He was one of three able brothers. William was the first of the great Leeds family of Surgeons; Richard was Third Wrangler and Chancellor's Medallist, became Fellow of Sidney and of Magdalene, and wrote well-known Essays; John graduated at St. Catharine's as Eighth Wrangler in 1755, and became Conduct Fellow in 1757; in 1760 he became Tutor of Sidney. In 1780 he was elected the first Norrisian Professor of Divinity, and was re-elected in 1785 and 1790. He died in 1815, at the age of eighty-one. William lived to be eighty-two, and Richard over ninety.

Hey wrote some religious poetry, and obtained the Seatonian Prize with one of his poems. His courses of Divinity Lectures were published twenty years before his death. Fifty years after, Turton published an edition of them. In some respects they are still worthy of attention; but in one special point they were seriously defective, Hey appearing to hold that the difference between the best Unitarians and the Church was in fact rather a matter of words than an impassable chasm.

Joseph Milner, the author of *The History of the Church of Christ*, took his degree at St. Catharine's in 1766, when he obtained the Second Chancellor's Medal in a traditionally strong year; he did not obtain a Fellowship, Prescot, the Eighth Junior Optime in the same year, being preferred. He was of the artisan class, but was too delicate as a boy to be put to work. Becoming a schoolmaster, he provided means in 1770 to take his brother Isaac from the loom and, literally, lead him up to Cambridge, for the brothers walked up from Leeds. Isaac was the well-known Senior Wrangler *Incomparabilis*, and the iron President of Queens' College. Isaac's friendship with William Wilberforce procured a competent position for Joseph Milner at Hull, but he died

immediately after at the age of fifty-three. A large number of his works have been published and republished. His *Church History* was re-edited by his brother Joseph. It had a decided bias towards Low Church principles, and was strongly and successfully assailed by Dr. Maitland, of the *Dark Ages*.

In 1791 an important step was taken towards the speedy settlement of College disputes. A mandamus had been applied for in the Court of King's Bench to compel the Master and Fellows to declare the Fellowship of Joshua Wood vacant. The College showed cause against it. It was a famous case with a famous bar, and it settled an important principle. Erskine, Law, and Graham were for the College; Bearcroft, Le Blanc, and Yorke for the mandamus. Lord Kenyon, in giving judgment, remarked:

"That it is extremely convenient that all disputes of this kind should be decided in foro domestico cannot be doubted. . . . Therefore, with no decided authority or general principle of law against us, but with the convenience of the case and general principles of law in our favour, we shall do more substantial justice to the parties in this particular case, and to the public in general, by refusing to grant this writ of mandamus, and by referring this question to the Lord Chancellor, than by entertaining jurisdiction over it."

This is the ruling case which decides the question of Visitor in case of doubt. Lord Mansfield had decided in 1772 that if a Visitor had made no appointment of Visitor, and had no heir, the Crown executed Visitatorial powers through the King's Bench. Lord Kenyon's counter-decision has ever since been held to be the law, that in a Private Eleemosynary Lay Foundation

—that being the description of a College in the two Universities—if no special Visitor be appointed by the Founder, the right of Visitation, in default of his heirs, devolves upon the Sovereign, to be exercised by the Great Seal.

In December 1791 the Master and Fellows formulated a scheme for a "Patronage Fund" for improving the ecclesiastical patronage of the College. When the attention of the Lord Chancellor was drawn to this fund in 1802, he required a statement of sources of the fund and the legal ground for this application of the money. The Master in Chancery (Mr. Campbell) in his Report (1807) expressed his approval of the plan in itself, but submitted to the Lord Chancellor, as Visitor, a doubt whether the surplus of Mrs. Ramsden's estate, which proved to be the main source of the fund, could be thus applied in accordance with Mrs. Ramsden's condition that all possible uses within the College should first be exhausted before her money was applied to any external purpose. In the end, £10,000 Consols, the part of the fund coming from Mrs. Ramsden's estates, was sold and applied to immediate needs of the College. The idea of a Patronage Fund survived. Mr. Burrell, who had so staunchly supported Dr. Procter against the machinations of the three Fellows, determined that his own property should go to this excellent purpose, and in 1824 he made a will to that effect. He died in 1843, when the net value of the estate, after paying legacy duty, was found to be £7662 15s. This handsome amount of money by no means Mr. Burrell's only gift-was left to accumulate for about forty years; from it the College bought the valuable advowsons of Marnhull and Newent.

Unfortunately, the depreciation of agricultural property set in very soon, and the investment has so far been a very poor one.

The first of a series of unpleasant internal disputes in the College came before the public in 1790, when a writ of mandamus was issued from the Court of King's Bench, directing the Master and Fellows to proceed to the election of a Fellow in place of Philip Gardner, whose Fellowship had become vacant by marriage.

Mr. Gardner married in October 1788, and, according to the usual custom of the College, received the income of his Fellowship for the half-year to Lady Day 1789. It was also the custom (1) not to elect a successor till after the end of the half-year in which a Fellow married; (2) to elect a successor at the half-yearly audit next following. Dr. Yates, the Master, (1) gave notice of election before Lady Day; (2) withdrew this under remonstrance; but (3) said nothing about an election when the whole body of Fellows met for the audit in May; and (4) gave notice on July 6 of his purpose to elect at nine o'clock the next morning. He had given leave of absence to one of the Fellows, Procter, on June 28, and Procter was in Yorkshire.

Two of the Fellows, Wood and Burrell, went to the Combination Room at a quarter-past nine in the morning. It is never safe to be a minute late at an election or at the settlement of a disputed point. The Master told them that the Statutes had been read, the Examination (a necessary preliminary) was finished, and Francis Goodwin was elected. This was very sharp practice. The writ of mandamus treated the election as not having taken place. On March 1, 1790, a meeting of the Master and Fellows was held in obedience to the

mandate, when Francis Goodwin was duly elected and the minute was signed by the Master and all the Fellows. Goodwin received his stipend as from Michaelmas 1789, thus losing the stipend for the half-year in which he had been irregularly elected.

A curious order was made by the Lord Chancellor in December 1795, in reply to a petition praying him to declare Mr. Waterhouse's Fellowship vacant on the ground that he held the Rectory of Coton. There is in the College Registry a manuscript purporting to represent the Lord Chancellor's decision.

"The Chancellor said that there were two grounds on which he saw it fair and just to dismiss the Petition: First, that by the grant from King Edward the Fourth of the Rectory of Coton to the Master and Fellows the year after the foundation of the College they became Rectors of the Rectory, and they, as Trustees for their successors, could not present to the Rectory but appoint a Chaplain or Curate, in which situation Mr. Waterhouse stood, being misstyled Rector, and therefore being only a Chaplain or Curate it did not impeach his Fellowship; Second, that it having been the invariable usage for 200 years past, except in one instance, for Fellows to be presented to the living of Coton, and to hold the same under title of a Rectory in conjunction with their Fellowships, I cannot think of straining the Statute to take advantage of it to the extent of a forfeiture of his Fellowship for what had been the constant practice under conception of being right for so many years, and under which conception so many venerable and respectable characters had acted."

The College thus did not succeed in getting rid of Mr. Waterhouse, and they were to suffer for it. The Master, Lowther Yates, died August 24, 1798, and

Waterhouse, as Senior Fellow, summoned a meeting for Saturday, September 1, between six and seven o'clock in the morning, for the election of a Master. One Fellowship was vacant, and all the five existing Fellows were present. Only the three Seniors were eligible, the Juniors-Procter and Burrell-not being of the standing of B.D. Mr. Waterhouse voted for himself, in accordance with the practice of the College in case of Fellows who are candidates at a contested election. Wood, the Fellow next in seniority, also voted for himself. Atkinson voted for Waterhouse, Procter for Dr. John Hey, and Burrell for Dr. Philip Gardner. Waterhouse had thus two votes, and no one else had more than one. He declared that he was duly elected, though he had not the majority of the votes of those present, and refused to accede to a request for a second He procured admission as Master, and acted as such until the Lord Chancellor decided the matter otherwise.

On December 19, 1798, Procter petitioned the Lord Chancellor to declare the election void. It is an amusingly significant fact that the "Content Book" of the College contains this entry: "December 14, 1798. We the undersigned Fellows are content that Joseph Procter should proceed to his B.D. degree,—J. Procter, C. W. Burrell"; thus Procter had himself become eligible for the Mastership. The next day, December 20, Lord Loughborough heard and decided the case, the Solicitor-General and Mr. Romilly appearing for Dr. Gardner and Mr. Procter, and the Attorney-General, Mr. Mansfield, and Mr. Christian for Mr. Waterhouse. The judgment was as follows:

"I find that neither the said Philip Gardner nor the said

Joshua Waterhouse were duly elected to be Master of the said College, and that no meeting can now be held agreeably to the Statutes for the election of a Master; whereby it hath devolved to me in behalf of his Majesty as Visitor of the College to nominate a Master; and I do hereby nominate and appoint Joseph Procter, Bachelor in Divinity, to be Master of the College of St. Catharine Hall in the University of Cambridge and do order that he be admitted by the Fellows of the College to the said office of Master."

We can now glance at the Masters of the College from 1719 to 1845.

XXI. Thomas Crosse, Essex, 1719-36. After a series of thirteen Masters, of whom ten were men of decided mark, and only four in all had been at some time in their lives Fellows of the College, we come to a series of seven Masters down to the present time, all of whom were elected direct from Fellowships in the College. Three out of the first five were useful Heads of the College, and did good service in the University; but it is not till we reach the sixth of the seven, Dr. Philpott, that we come to a man comparable with so many of the Masters from 1547 to 1719.

Dr. Crosse was a useful man to the College and to the University. He gave to the College some land and a house next the College on the south, the first beginning of the development of the College on that side.

Dr. Crosse's election to the Vice-Chancellorship was a trial of strength between the Bentley and the anti-Bentley faction. The anti-Bentley party, which had so long been guided by Sherlock, as Master of St. Catharine's, could trust Dr. Crosse, and carried his election by seventy votes, against his senior in standing, Dr. Andrew Snape, of King's, who received the votes of the Bentley

party, only forty-four. As Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Crosse, who was a quiet timid man, put off controversy as far as possible, and avoided action. It fell to his lot to lay the foundation of the Senate House on the 24th of June in his year of office.

The contest between Sherlock's successor and Snape shows how decidedly the Bentley controversy cut across the ordinary divisions of party. Sherlock and Snape were the two men who were most active in Convocation on the High Church side, and were struck off the list of King's Chaplains.

XXII. Edward Hubbard, of Ipswich, 1736-41. We have seen that his Fellowship was declared vacant July 4, 1719, because he had not "brought a certificate of his taking the oath to the King," and that he was reelected and re-admitted two days later. His elections to his Fellowship were unlucky, for he had been originally elected on Feb. 3, 1718, but was not admitted till Oct. 1, 1718, because of the embarrassed state of the College finances. He was Vice-Chancellor in 1739. He resigned the Mastership Oct. 5, 1736, and left to the College a legacy of £40. Cole knew him and describes him thus.

"Dr. Hubbard was a most worthy and amiable Character, mild, placid, and serene: whereas his brother, Henry, Fellow and great Benefactor to Emmanuel, was of a more rough and boisterous Temper, yet equally honest and well-disposed. He was a Bachelor, was a most modest and reserved man, and had the appearance as if he was crying. He is buried in Norwich Cathedral, with an Epitaph, which see in Blomefield."

XXIII. Kenrick Prescot, of Chester, 1741-79. He was for two years Chaplain-Fellow before being elected upon the foundation; son of Henry Prescot, Registrar

of Chester and a good antiquary; and brother of Prebendary Prescot of Chester, who, Cole says, was removed by Bishop Peploe for some irregularities, though an ingenious man and a good antiquary. He was Vice-Chancellor in 1744, and at the end of his year of office, September 20, 1745, with the Duke of Newcastle and others "waited on his Majesty in their Formalities" with an address on "The unnatural Rebellion lately broke out in Favour of a Popish Abjur'd Pretender, encouraged and Supported (as there is the greatest Reason to apprehend) by a Foreign Power."

Cole gives a ridiculous account of his bad verses, printed for him by his son at a press in his College rooms. He walked about the University for many years without a gown, noticed by no one. His company was dreaded, for he could talk only of his physical maladies, which were very severe.

"When he was first made Master, he had as Prebendary of Norwich the Great Church at Yarmouth, where he did not please, and an exchange was contrived: here he ran away with his wife, a lively pretty woman, daughter to an Innkeeper there, who was supposed to be a great Fortune; but . . . the money went elsewhere." "His income is good, Mastership, Prebend of Norwich, and Rectory of Balsham, must be £600 per an., and a good estate left him by his Brother: so that his Disorder is a means of saving money for his Family, as they live very retired."

"I once heard Bp. Gooch, in his vexation at some ill Behaviour, which he conceived to have met with from Dr. Prescot, about the time of his being presented by the Chapter to the Great Church at Yarmouth, say, That the Prebend did the College more Harm than Good, as it made the Masters negligent of their Duty. His Brother

in Law, Sherlock, I dare say, did not think so, on his first Appointment to it: and Bp. Gooch himself, before he attained the Mitre, would not probably have thought so. But so different are People in an humble station from what they are when Lords in Parliament."

XXIV. Lowther Yates, of Whitehaven, 1779-99, "a square fat man," Cole says.

His election was a good deal discussed, and it got into the papers. Sir Thomas Hatton, a Cambridge-shire baronet, was called to account for having interfered with Mr. Johnson, the Fellow, and his father, in pressing the interest of Mr. Gardiner, a particular friend and acquaintance of his. The rival controversialists eventually met at Trinity Hall Lodge, and debated the matter warmly:

"but after some Time all Parties seemed agreed to be Friends and to think that the Election which had been made could not have been otherwise, and indeed not to be mended, as Mr. Yates is every way qualified, and a very respectable character: so they adjourned, by consent, to Emmanuel College, where the Master very hospitably entertained them at Dinner."

The discussion at Trinity Hall Lodge brought out the facts that in the first instance Mr. Johnson and Mr. Gardiner voted for Mr. Gardiner; Mr. Dalton and Mr. Waterhouse voted for Dr. Hallifax; Mr. Yates and Mr. Prescot for themselves. Thereupon they "departed from Chapel, breakfasted together, were sensible that if they persisted the election would go to the Crown, and an alien would be made choice of, who, it was easy to foresee." Then they retired into Chapel and elected Mr. Yates.

Yates will long be remembered by the distich

shouted from a window on King's Parade as he walked to the University Church, as Vice-Chancellor, in trowsers, instead of shorts and stockings, "Gadzoons, Gadzoons, Lowther Yates in pantaloons." The culprit proved to be his own nephew.

XXV. Joseph Procter, of Ferry Fyston, was baptized there March 25, 1761. He became a Fellow of the College after taking his degree as Third Wrangler and Second Smith's Prizeman in 1783. He was twice Vice-Chancellor, in 1801 and 1825.

Dr. Corrie used to tell a story in illustration of Dr. Procter's great knowledge of a horse. Dr. Corrie was breakfasting with the Master when the Butler came in to say that there was a dealer at the College stable with a horse which he wished to sell. The Master and the Tutor went to see the horse, and found a very handsome-looking animal. The Master did not say a word. He walked round the horse one way, then turned and walked round the other way, still without a word. The dealer called out to the groom, "Take him away, Tom, the gentleman won't deal," and the Master returned to his breakfast, not having spoken a word. The dealer had seen the Master's eye fixed on the weak spot.

When Dr. Procter was between sixty and seventy years of age he was elected Vice-Chancellor. The Statutes allow a sexagenarian Head to decline the office. Dr. Procter was in residence at Norwich. He mounted his horse, rode to Cambridge (seventy miles), "pleaded his infirmity," and rode back to Norwich.

CHAPTER XXI

Disputes in the College—Lord Eldon's decision in favour of the Master as against the Tutor—Adam Sedgwick and his father—Rebuilding the Bull Inn—Purchase of sites—Benefaction of Francis Procter—Case of C. W. Goodwin—Visit of the Queen and Prince Consort to the College, and dinner in the Hall—Corrie Prize—Ordination in the Chapel—Burials in the Chapel—New Statutes.

THE dispute about the election, and the appointment of Procter as Master, following as it did on other quarrels, led, as might have been expected, to yet further hostilities, Wood, Waterhouse, and Atkinson opposing Procter and Burrell. They came before the Visitor on petition.

Lord Eldon made short work (September 15, 1802) of the three malcontents, a strong bar being engaged, Mansfield, Richards, and Bell for the petitioners, the Attorney-General, Romilly, and Whishard, for the three. The decision was in favour of the Master and Burrell on every point. Among other declarations, the Lord Chancellor laid it down that the Master had the right of appointing the Tutors, and that the Dean, Lecturer, and Bursar were elected by the Master and Fellows, but only with the concurrent voice of the Master in favour of a person so elected. It is evident that there was good ground for the tradition, which indeed appeared in print near the time, that the Tutor, when lecturing in the College Hall on questions of casuistry, put to his pupils this dilemma: "If the Master of this College and I were shipwrecked, and we both of us

caught hold of a spar that would float one of us but not both, should I be justified in knocking him off and letting him drown? Yes, I should!" and with a great oath, "I'd be delighted to do it!" It is a little sad that the circumstances of the College have located this story both in Procter's Mastership and in that of his predecessor Yates.

There is evidence that the quarrel between Dr. Procter and Atkinson had the practical result, and had for some time had the result, of preventing men from entering at the College. That was the Master's method of punishing the Tutor. Turton, who afterwards became an ornament of St. Catharine's, was driven to Queens' because he could not enter with us. The late Dr. Corrie informed the present writer that the famous Adam Sedgwick came from the North to enter at St. Catharine's in this time of war, and finding his entry barred, "wandered to Trinity and got in there." Adam's father, Richard, "born at Sedbergh in Yorkshire," and afterwards Vicar of Dent, entered Sizar at St. Catharine's, February 5, 1756.

On April 2, 1828, the College entered into a contract for rebuilding the Bull Inn for £4825. The sums actually paid were—to the contractor £7282 19s. 3d.; to the clerk of the works, £99 17s. 4d.; to Mr. Walter, the architect, £300 5s. 4d.; total, £7683 1s. 11d. An excess of £2457 19s. 3d. on a contract for £4825 seems rather large, even to modern experience.

In 1836 the remaining parts of the original site of the King's College of St. Bernard, afterwards the Queen's College, and after that again Queens' College, was purchased by St. Catharine's, with the late University Printing Offices and counting-houses and the Queens' Almshouses standing on it. The price was £7700, and expenses £265 2s. 10d.; towards which Procter and Burrell, the two staunch friends of each other and of the College, gave £1000 each. On the principal part of this newly-acquired site the College built nine lodging-houses, some facing Silver Street, and—as the present writer too well remembers—the machine-room of the University Press, the others facing Queens' Lane. These houses cost net £4378 17s. 3d., making with the purchase-money £12,344 0s. 1d. They never paid a decent interest on this large sum, and they were all pulled down in 1875, with other houses bought about that time, to provide a site for the new Master's Lodge, which itself cost about £9000.

In December 1847, the Reverend Francis Procter, Rector of Witton, in Norfolk, late Fellow of the College, and happily still living in a greatly honoured old age, the well-known author of Procter on the Book of Common Prayer, continued to the College the generosity which had marked the long Mastership of his uncle, Dr. Procter. The Master died intestate, and his property came to his nephew as heir. He conveyed to the College certain lands which his uncle had purchased with a view to placing them in trust for the use of the Master, and also ten pictures for the Master's Lodge, some of them of considerable interest.

A curious question was raised by the election of Dr. Philpott to the Mastership and the consequent vacation of the Fellowship which he had held. There remained only three Foundation Fellows, of whom one, Charles Wycliffe Goodwin, an able man and brother of Dr. Harvey Goodwin, afterwards Bishop of Carlisle, was a layman. The Statutes required that there must

always be two Fellows in Priest's orders and one in Deacon's orders, with the proviso that if the number of clerical Fellows fell short, the senior lay Fellow must within one year be ordained.

The College held that Mr. Goodwin vacated his Fellowship on November 10, 1847. He appealed to the Crown as Visitor acting by the Lord Chancellor. The Statute ran—a Collegii emolumentis recedat, without the addition of et pro non socio habeatur as in another Statute. He argued, therefore, that, though he was not entitled to any emolument for the two months November 10, 1847, to January 9, 1848, his Fellowship was not lost and he entered upon the emoluments again as soon as the condition of the Statute was fulfilled. Lord Cottenham was evidently struck by the ingenuity of Goodwin's plea, but he decided that the Fellowship was forfeited.

Mr. Goodwin, who derived his second christian-name from his mother, one of the Northumberland Wycliffes, was a man whom the College could not afford to lose. While still at school, at High Wycombe, he became interested in hieroglyphics, and Egypt was thenceforward the main study of his life. But he was very wide in his interests. He was a Hebraist, a botanist, a geologist, a Coptic scholar, an accomplished Anglo-Saxon and a good German. He wrote on music and on law. He translated the Anglo-Saxon Life of St. Guthlac, edited the Anglo-Saxon Lives of St. Andrew and St. Veronica for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, and many valuable contributions to the Society's publications. He contributed an essay on "Hieratic Papyri" to the Cambridge Essays of 1858. Curiously enough, considering that he lost his Fellowship by remaining a layman, his original purpose had been to take Orders. He turned, however, to the law, and in 1865 he became Assistant-Judge at Shanghai in the Supreme Court for China and Japan. Then he acted for three years as Judge at Yokohama. Returning to England in 1876, he died in 1878.

In 1847 the Queen, with the Prince Consort who was then Chancellor of the University, dined in the Hall of St. Catharine's as guests of the Master, Dr. Philpott, at that time Vice-Chancellor. It is said that this is the only occasion on which the Queen dined in a College Hall. Dr. Philpott recorded the event as follows in a M.S. which he gave to the present writer (M.S. f. 419, 420).

"July 5, 1847. Her Majesty Queen Victoria, His Royal Highness Prince Albert, Chancellor of the University, and a distinguished party, dined in the Hall of the College, as the guests of the Master, Dr. Philpott, then holding the office of Vice-Chancellor.

Dinner was served at six o'clock. The Royal party drove through the iron gateway in front of the College (the gates having been removed for the purpose) to the door of the Master's Lodge [this was, of course, the old Lodge, in the principal court], and after waiting some time in the Drawing-room they walked across the court to the College Hall.

The party consisted of sixty-two, seated at three tables, viz.:

The Queen.

The Prince Chancellor.

The Duchess of Sutherland.

The Countess Desart.

Duke of Saxe-Weimar and one attendant.

Prince Peter of Oldenburg and one attendant.

Prince Waldemar and two attendants.

Prince Löwenstein.

The Prussian Minister (Chevalier Bunsen).

The Belgian Minister (M. Van de Weyer).

The American Minister (Mr. Bancroft).

Dukes of Wellington, Norfolk, and Buccleugh.

Marquesses Northampton, Abercorn, Lansdowne, Camden, Exeter.

Earls Fortescue, Spencer, Morton, Hardwicke, Devon.

Bishops of London, Durham, Norwich, and Oxford.

Lord Monteagle.

Sir R. Peel, Bart.

Sir G. Grey, Bart.

General Bowles.

Colonel Seymour.

Colonel Buckley.

Mr. Anson.

Vice-Chancellor of Oxford.

Messrs. Goulburn and Law, Members of Parliament for the University.

The Vice-Chancellor.

Mrs. Philpott.

All the Heads of Colleges, except the President of Queens', who was ill.

Three Esquire Bedells."

It is a tradition in the College that the Duke of Wellington, who slept at the Master's Lodge, had it in command from the Queen to inform Dr. Philpott that in no Commoner's house had her Majesty been made to feel so completely at ease.

After the dinner, the Queen and Prince attended a concert in the Senate House, and at a quarter-past ten in the evening the Prince was at the Observatory.

In 1850 the Master and Fellows accepted from

a number of Graduates of the College a sum of £1666s. 4d. to establish in the College a Divinity Prize as a memorial of their respect and affection for their old Tutor, George Elwes Corrie, Norrisian Professor, on the occasion of his appointment to the Mastership of Jesus College.

In 1861 Dr. Philpott was appointed to the Bishopric of Worcester, and Charles Kirkby Robinson, Fellow and Bursar of the College, was elected Master by a majority of the votes of the five Fellows present, Milner, Robinson, Jameson, Crabtree, and Hurst. Crabtree and Hurst, as the junior Fellows, voted first, and recorded their vote for Jameson; the other three, in order of juniority, voted for Robinson.

In consequence of the death of the Prince Consort, Dr. Philpott could not be admitted to do homage for the possessions of the bishopric of Worcester for some considerable time. His first ordination fell in this interval, and not being in possession of his house and Episcopal Chapel, he obtained permission from the Master and Fellows to hold the ordination in the College Chapel, the Bishop of Ely also giving his consent. Ridley had held an ordination in Pembroke Chapel in 1552, when he was Bishop of London.

An Order in Council, July 21, 1855, directed that Burials should be discontinued in the College Chapel altogether, and in the Ante-chapel in all cases except that of the Master or any member of the Foundation dying within the precincts of the College, and in such case only on condition that the body be enclosed in an air-tight metallic coffin, and that each coffin be separately enclosed in brickwork and well cemented. On inquiry it was found that, so far as could be ascertained, only

four persons had been buried in the Chapel from its consecration in 1704 to 1842, viz. 1705, Lady Dawes, the wife of the Master, aged 29; 1729, Henry Moore, aged 18; 1779, Kenrick Prescot, aged 77; and 1782, Susannah Eyre, aged 11. To these should be added, 1719, John Addenbrooke, whose stone is in the floor of the Ante-chapel, and Archbishop Sir William Dawes, who is believed to have been buried by the side of his wife at the east end of the Chapel. In 1842 a vault was made in the Ante-chapel, and three persons have been buried in it, viz. 1842, Mr. Burrell; 1845, Dr. Procter; 1847, Mr. Pine.

The Queen confirmed by Order in Council, May 10, 1860, a new body of Statutes for the government of the College. In 1881 all former Statutes were repealed, and new Statutes were made, by which the College is now governed.

CHAPTER XXII

Thomas Turton—Edmund Yorke—Temple Chevallier—George Elwes Corrie—Thomas Jarrett—Charles Hardwick—Joseph Rawson Lumby.

THOMAS TURTON, of Hatfield, Yorks, entered at Queens' College in 1801, being unable to enter at Catharine by reason of the quarrel between the Tutor and the Master. In 1803 he became a Scholar of Catharine. In 1805 he was Senior Wrangler, Christie, the Second Wrangler, being declared equal with him for the Smith's Prizes. In 1807 he became tutor, and in 1822, Lucasian Professor of Mathematics. In 1827, when John Kaye, Bishop of Bristol, resigned the Regius Professorship of Divinity, Turton succeeded him. 1830 he became Dean of Peterborough, and in 1842 Dean of Westminster. The excellent portrait of him in the Hall was taken at that period, as he wears the Order of the Bath. In 1845 Peel recommended him for the Bishopric of Ely, and he held that position till 1864, being unfitted for several years for the due performance of its duties by reason of physical infirmities He was a very active and fairly acute controversialist; the best known of his controversies being that with Cardinal Wiseman on the Eucharist. He was a sound judge of pictures, and, it is said, of wines. He had considerable skill as a musician; some of his church music had a high repute and is still known.

Edmund Yorke, of Bewerly Hall, near Pateley Bridge, was elected to a Skerne Fellowship in 1810. He went

out of residence in 1813, and did not return. About the year 1870 he gave to the Fellows of the College the contents of his wine cellar, the key of which had not been in Cambridge for sixty years. The investigation of the several bins was interesting, but on the whole disappointing. Mr. Yorke died in 1872, leaving money to found a University Prize for Essays on subjects connected with the Law of Property. The will was not clearly drawn, and had to be dealt with by the Court of Chancery. The sum of money which emerged from that process was about £4000.

Temple Chevallier was a man of considerable mark, especially as an astronomer, but also in many other He was appointed Fellow and Tutor of St. Catharine's, from a Fellowship at Pembroke, very soon after his first degree (Second Wrangler and Second Smith's Prizeman) in 1817, the year in which Corrie was last (eighteenth) of the Wranglers. Chevallier was also an able classical scholar, but the Classical Tripos was not established till 1824, and he had thus not the full opportunity of showing his ability; he obtained, however, a Bell scholarship. He was Hulsean Lecturer in 1826 and 1827, and it is supposed that his volumes on the proofs of divine power and wisdom derived from astronomy first suggested to Whewell, who had been Second Wrangler in the year before Chevallier, the idea of his Bridgewater treatise on astronomy and general physics. In 1835 he became Professor of Mathematics at Durham, and in 1841 of Astronomy. In 1846 he was made sub-warden of the University of Durham, and in 1865 Canon of the Cathedral Church. During the time when he was filling these important offices he acted also as Reader in Hebrew. He was keenly

interested in the endeavour to introduce the study of science into general education, being before his time in that respect. In 1838 he opened a class for civil engineering and mining in the University, and in 1865 attempted to establish a department of physical science there. Neither attempt succeeded. In 1871 the educational world had caught him up, and with his hearty approval the Newcastle College of Science was formed, in connection with Durham; but being then in his seventy-eighth year, and in poor health, he resigned all his University appointments.

George Elwes Corrie was on his father's side a Cluny MacPherson (the name having been changed to Corrie) and on his mother's side a MacNab. His brother Daniel was the well-known friend of Henry Martyn and Reginald Heber, and first Bishop of Madras. born in 1793: entered at Catharine Hall in 1813; took his degree in 1817; and was appointed in that year assistant-tutor. He eventually succeeded to the tutorship, and filled that office till 1849 with conspicuous From 1838 to 1854, when, as having reached the age of sixty, he had to resign the office, he was Norrisian Professor of Divinity, working as energetically at the duties of the Professorship as at those of the Tutorship. His investigations into many obscure points in early ecclesiastical history, especially in England and Ireland, and his studies in the Irish language, as also in Danish, left their mark in large collections of manuscript notes, which show that he did the work of a pioneer, and had probed many questions on which we have no published work of his. From 1845 to 1864 he was examining chaplain to his former chief, Turton, Bishop of Ely, who in 1849 appointed him Master of Jesus College. Turton also made him Rector of Newton in the Isle; and these two offices he held till his death in 1885, at the age of ninety-two.

Corrie was a man of great courtesy, of indomitable firmness, of quiet but abundant humour, and of remarkable steadiness in Church matters. This last characteristic was one of the secrets of his great success as a College tutor, sound Churchmen feeling it safe to entrust their sons to his charge at a time when the Oxford Movement was creating unrest, and less stable men were drifting in one direction and another. The College became so full under his tutorship, that the services in Chapel and the dinners in Hall had to be duplicated. His correspondence with parents and pupils was found at his death in complete order; it was bound in a large number of volumes and presented to the College. memoir of his life was published in 1890 by the daughter of one of his oldest College friends, Miss Mary Holroyd, to whose assiduous care it was due that he lived to so advanced an age, in spite of constitutional delicacy and of constitutional determination not to be taken care of. He always spoke with a certain modest pride of the fact that he had never had more than one lung; and he refused to be coerced into wrapping up when the winds were cold.

Dr. Corrie's dislike of interference with the Universities from the outside had been shown so early as 1839, when he wrote *Historical Notices of the Interference of the Crown*. In 1871, when the Duke of Cleveland's Commission sent a paper of questions to him, he replied:

"I trust your Grace will forgive me the expression of my fear lest the Commission under which your Grace and others have consented to act should be found an inconvenient precedent for the Majesty of the People when, a few years hence, they come to issue their Commission of Enquiry into the Properties and Incomes of the Nobility and Gentry of England."

When the Commissioners appointed by the Act of 1877 sent to the Heads of Colleges and others a paper of questions asking their opinion as to the chief wants of the University and the manner in which they could best be met, he commenced his reply as follows:

"In the first place, I trust the Commissioners will excuse me for stating it to be my opinion that the present chief want of the University is exemption from the disturbing power of Royal or Parliamentary Commissions."

The writer well remembers the unmixed delight with which the Chairman of the Commission, Sir Alexander Cockburn, received this sally when he read it to him. "Tell him," he said, "from me privately, how much I enjoyed it."

Corrie's firmness could not be shaken. There are many stories which illustrate that. As one of these is specially connected with St. Catharine's, it may be given here; it comes from his own lips.

At the election of a Master to succeed Dr. Procter in 1845 there were only four Fellows present. Corrie was the Senior, Philpott next, and then Kuhff and C. W. Goodwin. They voted by juniority. Goodwin voted for Philpott, so did Kuhff, so did Philpott. Corrie came last, and delivered himself thus, "Nevertheless, gentlemen, I record my vote for George Elwes Corrie."

He was to the end of his life proud of the varied attainments of the Master and Fellows of Catharine. "Whatever University Examinations came to our turn,"

he told the writer, "we never had to send them out of College."

The good stories told of Corrie's pointed humour are endless, and very many of them are true. Donaldson, the author of a book regarded as heretical, walking in the streets of Cambridge, he remarked regretfully: "In a purer age of the Church we should have burned our friend." He told the writer that on one occasion a pupil on whom he had exercised discipline came to his rooms and proposed to migrate to. Queens', over the way. "I told the young man I had no objection. When he had his hand on the door, I said, 'I don't throw a snail into my neighbour's garden without letting my neighbour know.' He didn't migrate." There was a belief that the Bishop of Ely was unable to refuse to ordain a Fellow of a College, however bad his papers might be, a Fellowship being in itself a special title for Holy Orders. Corrie resented this. At the Examination he used to leave the men to their honour and go away, desiring them to place their answers on a certain table. Close to the fire he placed a small stool. "Fellows of Colleges will lay their papers on that stool."

All through his earlier years Corrie was a keen sportsman, and devoted to country pursuits. To the end of his life his heart was still in the country, and he was at his best in his Rectory at Newton in the Isle. The present writer once spent a Sunday with him there, and going rather early into the church found a strong smell of gunpowder. However impossible it might seem, a gun had evidently been fired in the church, and very recently. He asked the factotum what had happened. "Rector doesn't mind smell of powder. He won't have pigeons flappin' about in t' chuch, not he."

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Thomas Jarrett was born in 1805, and graduated in 1827 from St. Catharine's as Thirty-fourth Wrangler and seventh in the First Class of the Classical Tripos. In 1828 he was made Fellow and Classical Lecturer, lecturing also in Hebrew when lectures in that language were required. In 1832 he was presented by the College to the Rectory of Trunch, where he died in 1882. He was a man of remarkable ingenuity and of exceedingly wide knowledge of languages, especially Oriental; it was said that he could lecture on twenty languages at a day's notice, and on any other language with a He had an inexhaustible fund of week's notice. information on recondite subjects. His knowledge of methods of arithmetical processes, worked out by the fingers and thumbs and knuckles, was very curious. It must be confessed that his ingenuity led him into sad waste of his time and of his really solid powers. was always inventing systems and spending long periods of time over their development and application. Before going to his country rectory he had been elected to the Professorship of Arabic. Twenty-three years later he became Regius Professor of Hebrew, an office united with a Canonry at Ely. He left to St. Catharine's the whole of his valuable library.

Charles Hardwick, the son of a carpenter at Slingsby, near Malton, Yorks, entered at St. Catharine's in 1840. In 1844 he missed by one place a position among the Wranglers, and in the following year he was elected to a Skerne Fellowship, which he retained till his death in 1859. His tastes may be gathered from the works which he edited; they included Twysden's Vindication of the Church of England, Fullwood's Roma ruit, a Poem on the Times of Edward II., an Anglo-Saxon Passion of

St. George, a Catalogue of MSS. in the University Library, the Book of Homilies, the Anglo-Saxon and Northumbrian versions of St. Matthew's Gospel, and the History of the University of St. Augustine, Canterbury (Master of the Rolls Series). In 1855 he was elected to the office of Christian Advocate on Mr. Hulse's Foundation, which had been held by H. J. Rose, Jeremie, and Mill; he was the last holder of the office, which was converted in 1860 into the Hulsean Professorship of Divinity. As Christian Advocate he published a valuable book, Christ and other Masters. He also wrote an Enquiry touching Saint Catharine of Alexandria, a History of the Church, Middle Age, a third edition of which Dr. Stubbs, afterwards Bishop of Oxford, published in 1872, and a corresponding book on the Reformation period. His History of the Articles, like all his work, is accurate, scholarly, and valuable. He was greatly trusted by his many friends in Cambridge, where he resided in the Skerne buildings of St. Catharine's, serving the office of Chaplain to the College; and the survivors of the undergraduates of his time have a most affectionate recollection of his pleasant courtesy, not the less acceptable to young men because rather prim. He was one of the elected members of the first Council of the Senate, and was re-elected on the next occasion. In 1859 he was made Archdeacon of Ely. In August of that year he was walking in the Pyrenees and slipped on an incline of rock, sliding down feet first till he came in contact with some obstacle which sent him on head downwards. His head then came in contact with a projecting stone, and he was killed. A monument was erected on the spot, and his body was buried at Luchon. Though he had done so

much, he was only thirty-eight years of age at the time of his death, and he had, so far as any one could judge, an exceedingly useful and a very important career before him.

Joseph Rawson Lumby was educated in his early boyhood at a National School. He entered at Magdalene and graduated in 1858 in the First Class of the Classical Tripos. He vacated his Fellowship at Magdalene by marriage, and continued to reside in Cambridge as a private tutor. His immense powers of work enabled him to pursue several of his many lines of study very Failing to obtain the Professorship of Anglofar. Saxon on its institution in 1878, he was elected in the next year to the Norrisian Professorship of Divinity. In 1892 he was elected to the Lady Margaret Professorship of Divinity, and he held that important post till his premature death in 1895. When the new Statutes of the University became law in 1881, St. Catharine's selected Mr. Lumby as the Professorial Fellow. He was one of the Revisers of the Old Testament Version, having obtained the second Tyrwhitt Hebrew Scholarship in 1861, the first being won in that year by J. B. Curtis of St. Catharine's, afterwards Chaplain of the College. A. Pownall in 1855, H. M. Jeffery in 1852, C. J. Elliott in 1842, F. Forster in 1835, and J. Jarrett in 1827, had won four first Hebrew Scholarships and one Elliott and Pownall had won the Crosse Scholarship also.

Dr. Lumby did a great deal of work for the Master of the Rolls, the Chronicles of Higden occupying him for several years. The accuracy of his work in this branch was marred by the multiplicity of his avocations. The universality of his knowledge was surprising, and

was often tested. On one occasion he was suddenly asked in the Combination Room, "Lumby, what's the price of a second-hand wooden-leg?" "Ten-and-six. Brass-tipped, twelve-and-six." The inquirer went to the hospital the next day to test the accuracy of the answer, and was told it was curious he should ask the question, for Dr. Lumby had only a few days before got one for an old parishioner.

Physically, Dr. Lumby was a man of remarkable power of muscle. He could do almost what he liked with pokers, breaking them if they would break, and winding them round his arm if they would not.

CHAPTER XXIII

Two Masters, xxvi, xxvii, 1845-19...: Philpott, Robinson—Combination with King's suggested—Bishops Dealtry, Boyd-Carpenter, Browne, Moule, and Pain—Richard Wilton.

XXVI. Henry Philpott was born November 17, 1807, and died January 10, 1892, aged eighty-four years. He was educated at the Cathedral School of his native place, Chichester, and entered as a freshman at Catharine Hall in 1825. In 1829 he was Senior Wrangler and fourteenth in the First Class of the Classical Tripos, then in the sixth year of its existence. The little College had favoured the Classical Tripos from the beginning, three of our Fellows taking Double Firsts in the first six years of the new Tripos.

The late Dr. Kennedy used to tell how he and the great Mathematical tutor, Mr. Hopkins, discussed in the long vacation of 1828 the merits of their pupil Cavendish, and how each maintained that if he would devote less of his time to the other of the two he would come out first in the Tripos he more favoured. But Hopkins said at the same time that he had a dark horse who would take some beating, and in the end the dark horse won. Cavendish, afterwards Duke of Devonshire, succeeded in winning the first Smith's Prize, Philpott obtaining the second. In the Classical Tripos, Cavendish was six places higher than Philpott.

Philpott served the offices of Moderator and Examiner for the Mathematical Tripos on five occasions

between 1833 and 1838, the office of Proctor in 1834 and 1835, and of Whitehall Preacher 1837–39. When Dr. Turton, formerly tutor of Catharine Hall and himself Senior Wrangler, was promoted from the Deanery of Westminster to the Bishopric of Ely, he made Philpott his Examining Chaplain. In 1845 Philpott was elected to the Mastership (see p. 222). In 1861 he became Bishop of Worcester.

During the sixteen years of his Mastership, Dr. Philpott's hand and eye were everywhere, in the College and in the University. He read and analysed the whole of the College archives, and printed a considerable number of the more important of the early documents. not a department in the University whose records do not show abundant traces of his painstaking skill, in the form of papers and minutes of the most lucid character, full of careful research, and written in a hand almost aggravatingly regular and uniform. In 1846 Dr. Philpott became Vice-Chancellor. His ability, impartiality, and industry, were so marked, that when the difficult task of bringing the new Statutes of 1854-55 into operation fell due, he was again elected Vice-Chancellor in 1856, and was re-elected in 1857, thus affording the first example for a very long time of an arrangement which has since become usual.

Dr. Philpott took special interest in the arrangements with the town, which led to Sir John Paterson being called in to make an award, this amicable compromise being embodied in the Award Act of 1856. Under this award, the powers of the University exercised by the Proctors were expressly kept alive, and in consequence Dr. Philpott called in two experts in prison arrangements, and had regulations of the most careful character

drawn up for the management of the Spinning House, where women of bad character were placed under confinement. These regulations were submitted to the Home Secretary, Lord Palmerston, and received his complete approval.

During Philpott's first Vice-Chancellorship the contest between Prince Albert and the Earl of Powis for the Chancellorship, and the visit of the Queen and Prince Albert to Cambridge, took place. He was appointed Chaplain and University Correspondent to the Prince-Chancellor, and was nominated by Lord Palmerston to the Bishopric of Worcester in 1860, so shortly before the Prince's death, that in consequence of that event he was unable to do homage and receive the restitution of the temporalities for some months. As one result of this serious inconvenience, he held his first ordination in the College Chapel.

As Bishop of Worcester, Dr. Philpott displayed the same characteristics of ability, diligence, and punctuality, which had marked his University career; and he found in the new sphere abundant scope for a warm and sympathetic kindness of heart, and a frank geniality of manner, for which there had been less opportunity in the transaction of University business. When the agricultural depression fell heavily on his large country diocese, his clergy learned the practical character of his sympathy; there was no bound to his unostentatious generosity, up to the point which left him sufficient for the singularly simple wants of his wife and himself and his small household. He refused to establish a Diocesan Conference. "I have a horror of irresponsible talk. If these gentlemen felt that the responsibility of action would follow upon their discussions, they would speak with caution. But until a diocesan conference has power to act, I will not call one." He very rarely indeed appeared in the House of Lords. It is said that he never attended the Upper House of Convocation; and that except once, when Archbishop Tait specially summoned him by virtue of his promise to the See of Canterbury, he was systematically absent from the Bishops' private meetings held usually on fixed days three times in each year. He made a practice of answering personally every letter he received.

When the University of Cambridge Commission was appointed in 1877, with Sir Alexander Cockburn as Chairman, Dr. Philpott was named second in the Commission, and on Sir Alexander's death he became Chair-To this arduous work, which lasted nearly four years, he gave unremitting attention, only missing one meeting, and that merely a formal one for which a bare quorum was sufficient. He wrote out with his own hand the whole of the general Statutes of the University, translating them from the original Latin. His sympathies were decidedly with the minority of the Commissioners, who desired to impose a somewhat less heavy burden of pecuniary contribution on the Colleges, and wished to adjust the burden otherwise than as the majority decided. In this respect, the death of the Chief Justice had changed the balance of opinion.

In the later years of his episcopate, Dr. Philpott became a warm supporter of the scheme for a Bishopric of Birmingham, to which he promised to assign £800 a year of the income of the See of Worcester. He had hoped to see it carried out in his time; but the delays were long and grievous, and in the year 1890, being then eighty-three years of age, he resigned his bishopric. He retained

much activity till the autumn of 1891, having had such remarkably good health that only once in his episcopate of thirty years had he to cancel a diocesan engagement in consequence of a passing ailment. He died on the morning of Sunday, January 10, 1892, a very short time after the Duke of Devonshire, who in the early days of January 1829 had fought with him in the battle of the schools.

Dr. Philpott's work in arranging and analysing the records of the College has enabled this little history to be written. At his death Mrs. Philpott gave to the College the gold inkstand presented to him by the Prince Consort; the massive silver centre-piece given to him by the College on his appointment to Worcester; and the copy of the *Life of the Prince Consort*, on the fly-leaf of which is written in Queen Victoria's own handwriting:

TO

HENRY, BISHOP OF WORCESTER

IN RECOLLECTION

OF

FORMER DAYS

FROM

VICTORIA R & I

Feb. 1878.

XXVII. Charles Kirkby Robinson, the present Master, was born at Acomb, near York, the eldest son of Charles Robinson, Esq., by Mary Jessy Kirkby, only child of Jonathan Kirkby, Esq., of Acomb, and of Risplith, near Ripon, where the Kirkbys had lived for several generations. He was educated at St. Peter's School, York; entered at St. Catharine's in 1845,

became Scholar in 1846; B.A., Twenty-Second Wrangler, 1849, M.A. 1852, D.D. 1868. He obtained the Maitland Prize in 1852. After serving various College offices for some years, he accepted the incumbency of Christ Church, Barnwell, leaving College and residing in his Vicarage. He made a great mark upon the spiritual life of the parish, and combated successfully some of the most distressing evils of its proximity to the University. While engaged in this work he was elected to the Mastership of the College in 1861. business experience and his intimate knowledge of the property and affairs of the College have been most useful through many years of bursarial work and of control as Master. He has studied the theory and practice of music; has lived much on horseback; and is deeply interested in the history and the welfare of the College over which he has presided for so many years. His great knowledge of old oak panelling and furniture was very useful when the new Lodge was being built and furnished, and his successors will have reason to be grateful to him. In all the modern improvements of the College, which have been many, the Master has taken his full share.

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One matter of very grave importance was mooted in his time, now some twenty years ago. This took shape in a definite proposal from King's College that St. Catharine's should be amalgamated with that great foundation. King's very much needed additional rooms for its growing numbers of undergraduates. St. Catharine's had shrunk in its numbers, and was not in a very prosperous condition; it was the daughter of King's, owing its existence to a Provost of that College. With the rooms of St. Catharine's and the site of the Bull Inn to work upon, if the little lane between the two

Colleges could be closed, a very noble frontage to the main street would be secured for the combined Colleges. It was a great scheme, and there was much to be said for it. The Master of St. Catharine's stood quite firm. "His title was Master or Keeper of the College; he must keep it as a separate existence; he could not let it go." That attitude on the part of the Master blocked the proposal, and it was negatived by the smaller College. It is pretty safe to say that neither College regrets the Master's firmness now.

It is a remarkable fact that although Dr. Philpott's Mastership lasted only sixteen years, the Masterships of Procter, Philpott, and Robinson, have lasted into three centuries.

Thomas Dealtry matriculated in 1825 at the age of thirty-one; he was the son of poor parents in Yorkshire, and maintained himself by tuition. He obtained a First Class in the Law Lists of 1827–8, and was immediately ordained to a curacy in Cambridge. He was from the first an effective preacher, and as such he attracted the attention of Charles Simeon, who had a regard for St. Catharine's and sent his nephew, Edward Simeon, there. In 1829 he went out as a Bengal chaplain; in 1835 he became Archdeacon of Calcutta under Bishop Wilson; and in 1849 he was consecrated third Bishop of Madras, dying in that office in 1861.

Another Dealtry, William, also a Yorkshireman but a man of family and estate, entered at St. Catharine's in 1792, and migrated to Trinity. He was Second Wrangler and second Smith's Prizeman, and a Fellow of Trinity. He became Professor of Mathematics at Haileybury; succeeded John Venn as Rector of Clapham; was a strong supporter of the Bible Society; and

died Archdeacon of Surrey in 1847. Our little College has fed Trinity with able men.

William Boyd Carpenter was born at Liverpool March 26, 1841. He was educated at the Royal Institution School in his native town, and entered at St. Catharine's in 1860, having obtained an open scholarship by his work alike in classics and in mathematics. He is the son of Henry Carpenter, Vicar of St. Michael's, Liverpool, and Hester Boyd of Londonderry. Dean Boyd of Exeter was his great-uncle. took his degree in 1864 and was ordained to Maidstone in the same year, leaving behind him in College the reputation of being a reader of French sermons and a very winning companion. For nine years from 1870 he was Vicar of St. James, Holloway, and made a mark in many directions, being Select Preacher both at Cambridge and at Oxford. In 1879 he became Vicar of Christ Church, Lancaster Gate, and Chaplain to the Bishop of London. Other appointments came rapidly— Hon. Chaplain to the Queen, Canon of Windsor, Chaplain to the Queen. There was no secret about the great personal regard in which he was held by the Sovereign; but his appointment to the See of Ripon was entirely the doing of Mr. Gladstone. To the rest of the world he is known as quite unrivalled in his power of delivering, without note of any kind, long sermons and addresses, closely reasoned, most aptly illustrated, with unfaltering precision, and with a charm of manner which leaves in his hearers no sense of the flight of time. His sermon at St. Margaret's on the occasion of the Jubilee of Queen Victoria (1887) preached by appointment before the House of Commons, does not suffer by comparison with the greatest successes of the greatest preachers. The thanks of the House were most deservedly voted to him on this great occasion. In 1884 he was consecrated to the Bishopric of Ripon. He has conciliated the varied interests of that great and populous diocese, and has presided with marked ability at two Church Congresses, Wakefield in 1886, and Bradford in 1898. The College elected him one of its first three Honorary Fellows. He is the author of many works on religious subjects, is a skilled exponent of the best literature of this and other countries, and he recently published (Murray, 1900) a Popular History of the Church of England. He was Hulsean Lecturer in 1879, his subject being "The Witness of the Heart to Christ," and Bampton Lecturer in 1889, subject, "Permanent Elements of Religion." In recognition of his Bampton Lectures the University of Oxford gave him the degree of D.C.L. In 1901 the University of Glasgow gave him the degree of Doctor in Divinity. The Orator's speech on the occasion of his receiving the D.D. degree in Cambridge will be found in the Appendix.

The Bishop's younger brother Archibald, who has many of his brother's gifts, is also a member of St. Catharine's. He is a well-known London clergyman, now Rector of St. Olave's, Hart Street, and until lately Rector of St. George's, Bloomsbury. He has been Select Preacher at Oxford and Cambridge, and Golden Lecturer; was Chaplain in Ordinary to the late Queen; and is Honorary Chaplain to the King.

George Forrest Browne, born at York Dec. 4, 1833, educated at St. Peter's School, York, entered at St. Catharine's in 1852; B.A. 1856. Son of George Browne, a Proctor in the Ecclesiastical Court, and Anne

Forrest. In 1857 he went to Trinity College, Glenalmond, as Assistant Master, and was ordained to the school title by the Bishop of Oxford (Wilberforce), to avoid the disabilities then attached to Scottish Orders. He became Theological Tutor and Bell Lecturer in Ecclesiastical History in the Episcopal Church of Scotland. In 1863 he was elected to a Fellowship at St. Catharine's and left Scotland to reside in College. He vacated his Fellowship by marriage in 1865, but continued to live in Cambridge till 1892, holding many offices in the College and the University. The College elected him one of its first three Honorary Fellows under the new He was Secretary of the Syndicate for Local Examinations and Local Lectures 1870-1892; editor of the University Reporter for twenty-one years, and of the Ordinationes, Statutes, Endowments, &c.; Proctor 1869-71, 1876-78, 1878-80; member of the Council of Senate 1874-78 and 1880-92; Secretary of the University Commission 1877-81; and a member of many Boards and Syndicates. In 1887 he was elected Disney Professor of Art and Archæology, an office which he held till 1892. After enjoying by the great favour of the University and of more than one College these and other pleasant offices, some of them carrying not inconsiderable emoluments, he was presented, on leaving Cambridge, with a handsome collection of silver-gilt and silver plate; the Chancellor (the late Duke of Devonshire, and afterwards the present Duke) was Chairman of the Committee for making this presenta-As a final mark of favour, the grace for conferring the degree of D.D. was followed by the unique words— "and that the fee for the Degree be remitted in consideration of his services to the University." The Orator's speech on the occasion is printed in the Appendix.

In January 1891 he was appointed Canon of St. Paul's, and left Cambridge. The next year he became Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of London, and Secretary of the London Diocesan Home Mission. In 1895 the Bishop, Dr. Temple, nominated him to the Suffragan See of the East and North of London, the title of the See being changed by the Queen from "Bedford" to "Stepney." In 1897 Lord Salisbury appointed him the first Bishop of the restored Diocese of Bristol. The College presented him on that occasion with a richly illuminated address and a fine sapphire epi. opal ring. He was Select Preacher at Oxford 1900-2. He is a member of the Alpine Club, and wrote in 1864 a book on Subterranean Ice. He has since written several little volumes on English Church History. His latest publication is this present attempt at a history of the College to which he owes so much.

Handley Carr Glyn Moule was born at Fordington, Dorchester, December 23, 1841, was educated by his father at Fordington Vicarage, and entered at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1860. He is the youngest of seven brothers, all of whom were educated by their father, to whom, as also to their mother and to one another, they owe more than they can put into words. Several of them have obtained distinction. One (C. W. Moule, late Tutor of Corpus) was bracketed with the late Professor Sir John Seeley and the present Dr. Kynaston as Senior Classics in 1857. Another, George, after obtaining a place of both of the Triposes then existing, has given his whole life and labour to China, in the language of which country he is an acknowledged master. He was consecrated in 1880

the second bishop of Mid China. Another brother, Arthur, worked with like devotion and success in China, and became Archdeacon of Shanghai. Six of the sons of these two are missionaries. The youngest brother, the present Bishop of Durham, was bracketed with the late Mr. F. W. H. Myers as Second Classic in 1864, two of his future colleagues at St. Catharine's, Mr. Pretor and Mr. Spratt, being in the same First Class with him. He had previously obtained the Carus Prize and the Browne Medals for Latin Ode and Epigrams. In 1865 he was placed in the First Class of the Theological Examination, with distinction in Hebrew. In that year he was elected to a Fellowship of Trinity College, which he held for sixteen years, and he was ordained on the College title. He was an Assistant Master at Marlborough 1865-7, and Curate of Fordington 1867-73. In each of five years of his curacy he obtained the Seatonian Prize for an English Poem on a sacred subject, and again in 1876. From 1873 to 1877 he was Dean of Trinity, returning at the end of his term of office to Fordington. In 1880 he came back to Cambridge as Principal of Ridley Hall and Lecturer at Holy Trinity, and in the next ten years was Select Preacher at Oxford, and frequently at Cambridge. In 1898 he became Hon. Chaplain to the Queen, and in 1901 Chaplain in Ordinary to the King. He was elected to the Norrisian Professorship of Divinity in 1899, and having vacated his Fellowship of Trinity by marriage in 1881, St. Catharine's elected him to its Professorial Fellowship. In 1901 he was appointed by Lord Salisbury to the Bishopric of Durham, on which occasion the College made a presentation of plate and elected him to an Honorary

Fellowship. He had some time before proceeded to the D.D. degree by thesis, and therefore without a speech by the Orator.

Dr. Moule is the author of a large number of devotional works, beginning with *Christian Sauctity* in 1885. Many of them are in great demand, and all are marked by spiritual insight and depth.

Arthur Wellesley Pain is a native of Cambridge. He was a Scholar of St. Catharine's, and took his degree in 1866. After serving as a curate in Suffolk, the state of his health sent him out to work in New South Wales. For thirty-four years he has filled useful and important positions there, as Incumbent of Narellan and Cabramatta and Rural Dean of Camden, N.S.W.; Rector of St. John Darlinghurst, Sydney; Rural Dean of East Sydney; Chaplain to the Archbishop of Sydney, and Canon of the Cathedral. In 1901 it was determined to form three new dioceses in Melbourne, namely, Wangarratta, Bendigo, and Gippsland. In 1902 the appointments of the new bishops were made, and Canon Pain was elected first Bishop of Gippsland.

We have mentioned from time to time poets of more or less fame who have been members of the College. An extract from the *Globe* of the present year may serve to introduce a poet of recent times, happily still living. Mr. Wilton took his B.A. degree in 1851.

"The Rev. Richard Wilton, Canon of York and Rector of Londesborough, has made a selection from the four volumes of verse published by him between 1873 and 1889, and, adding to the result twenty pieces not before presented in book form, has issued the whole under the title of Lyra Pastoralis: Songs of Nature, Church, and Home (Methuen & Co.) He was assisted in the selecting by the

late Mr. F. T. Palgrave, who said that Mr. Wilton's sonnets reminded him of the verse-work of Charles Tennyson Turner. They recall the method and manner of a greater than Charles Tennyson—namely, Wordsworth, to whom Mr. Wilton has an obvious affinity. Take this sonnet for example:

I learnt a lesson from the flowers to-day:

As o'er the fading hawthorn-blooms I sighed,
Whose petals fair lay scattered far and wide,
Lo! suddenly upon a dancing spray
I saw the first wild-roses clustered gay—
What though the smile I loved so soon had died
From one sweet flower—there, shining at its side,
The blushing Rose surpassed the snowy May.
So, if as life glides on, we miss some flowers
Which once shed light and fragrance on our way,
Yet still the kindly compensating hours
Weave us fresh wreaths in beautiful array;
And long as in the paths of peace we stray,
Successive benedictions shall be ours!

This is happily expressed, and it represents very fairly the average level of Mr. Wilton's excellent verse. The rondeau and the rondel are handled not less deftly, and the more lyrical pieces have a genuine spontaneity. Lyra Pastoralis should appeal successfully to all who love the Muse in her more tender and more thoughtful moods."

CHAPTER XXIV

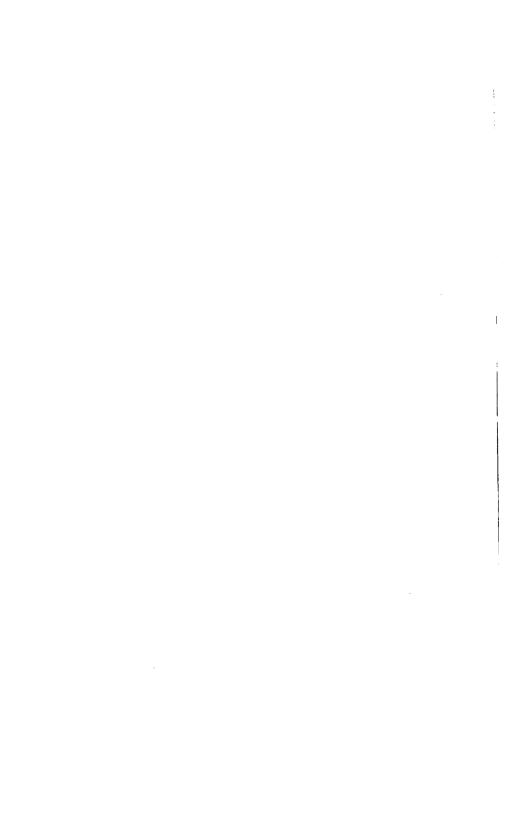
Modern additions, alterations, and improvements: The Hall; the new Lodge; Swimming Bath, Undergraduates' Common Room, &c.; the Chapel, Organ, and Choir Room—The present staff of the College—Large amount of Scholarship funds in relation to the size of the College—The Athletic record.

In an ancient institution the work of renewing and improving must be always going on. A great deal has been done in this way at St. Catharine's within living memory. In the year 1868 the very plain windows of the Hall and the Library were removed and replaced by windows in a gothic style, and a bay projecting into the court was added at the east end of the Hall. These works were all of them excellent in themselves, and well done, but they were not in keeping with the severe plainness of the rest of the Court, which was popularly likened to the inside of a square chimney. Some eminent critics, who had seemed to be scornful about the chimney, were heard to declare when it was too late that there had been a real beauty in its severity, and that they had always admired it for its fidelity to style. The architect of the new work was W. M. Fawcett, M.A.; the cost was £1770.

In 1875-76 the new Master's Lodge was built. No doubt the old Lodge was inconvenient for the residence of a family. It was very many years since it had been tested in that respect, for Dr. Philpott had no children and Dr. Procter was a bachelor, and their tenures of the Lodge had extended over nearly seventy years. A young



From a photograph by] [J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge THE HALL, A.D. 1675, AS ALTERED 1868.



wife and a growing family and the increased requirements of modern times found the house more and more inconvenient, and the College determined to build a new Lodge, retaining the old Lodge for the residence of Fellows of the College. The only possible place was opposite the old court of Queens', between St. Catharine's and Silver Street. The present writer had long ceased to be a Fellow of the College, and had no voice in the matter; but it was strongly his opinion that, if this course was adopted, the Lodge should be so built as to be the possible west end of a second court, open, like the present court, to Trumpington Street. Much of the property between the proposed site and Trumpington Street was not the property of the College, but that might be only a question of time. Indeed the main part of it became the property of the College soon after the new Lodge had been built on a plan which has made it impossible that it should ever be the end of a new court.

The architect was W. M. Fawcett, M.A.; the cost of the building was about £9000, exclusive of the sacrifice of rent of nine dwelling-houses, pulled down to free the site. Mr. Fawcett took many of the details from the front of Sawston Hall. The old panelling used in some of the rooms is very good. That in the study is from the old Buttery; in the dining-room, from Cornwall House at Castle End.

Not long after this, the College added to its property on the east side of the new Lodge by the purchase of another important site between the Ramsden Buildings and Silver Street. The title goes back to 1566, when "the President and Ffelowes of the Collegge of Seignt Margaret and Seignt Barnard, comenly called the Quens Collegge in Cambrigge alienaten and sellen the spread or splaid eagle to a ffelowe of the College of Mary Valence, commonly called Pembrok halle in Cambrigge." The purchaser was Thomas Bylle, a Doctor in Physyke, and as the tenement had "a Bredith in the Est hedde thereof abutting upon the Kyngs heighe way xxxiiii footes and five inches," it is probable that Dr. Bylle proposed to practise physic there. The "chef rent of iiiid. by the yer" was reserved; the price was lx \(\beta\). sterling. The fluctuations in price in 220 years have been as follows: In 1552 it was sold for £44; in 1568 for £40; in 1626 for £300, to an inn-keeper; in 1657 for £435 to a Doctor of physic again; in 1719 for £450; and in 1755 for £370.

On the area acquired on this side of the College there are now a large Swimming-bath, a Common Room and a Reading Room for the undergraduates, a Library of Reference, a Lecture Room, and a Garden. By these means a very great addition has been made to the amenities and usefulness of the College as a residence for undergraduates.

In 1892, soon after the appointment of Mr. Spratt and Mr. Southward as joint Tutors, a large and handsome field at Newnham was purchased and laid out for cricket and football at a cost of £2200. This important extension was promoted chiefly by Mr. Spratt, who has for more than forty years been the mainspring of efforts to develop the manhood of the undergraduate members of the College.

In the year 1893 the Society felt that something should be done to render the Chapel better suited to modern requirements. The suggestion was first made by the Rev. W. T. Southward in a Commemoration

Sermon. The Master and Fellows had promised in their petition for its consecration in Queen Anne's time

"for ourselves and our successors, that we will ever hold it as an Holy Place, even as God's House, and use it accordingly, and that we will from time to time, and ever hereafter, as need shall be, see it conveniently repaired and decently furnished, in such sort as a Chapel ought to be."

In a spirit worthy of their ancestors the Master and Fellows and other members of the College gave of their goods to beautify their "Holy Place," "God's House," the joint Tutors especially, Mr. Spratt and Mr. Southward, giving liberally from the profits of their Tutorship for a term of years, and devoting themselves to the task of collecting money. The labours of Mr. Spratt in this respect, and his large gifts towards the cost of the Organ, must never be forgotten in the history of the College. The contributions of donors were supplemented by grants from the College, and the sum expended exceeded £4000.

At length the work was done, and the beautified Chapel was reopened on January 9, 1895. The following is a statement of the ceremonial and of the work:

Before the commencement of the office of Matins,

The President presented to the Master a petition for the dedication of the Organ: the Master then read the following

PRAYER OF DEDICATION.

"Almighty God, giver of all good, we Thine unworthy servants most humbly beseech Thee to vouchsafe to bless and hallow to Thy honour and glory this instrument of music, fashioned for Thy service and wrought in Thy praise. To all that hereafter shall serve Thee in this office, grant, we beseech Thee, Thy heavenly grace, that in all humbleness and holiness of heart, they may render to Thy praise Thine own most excellent gift of music, in ever present memory of their most solemn charge. And on all that serve Thee with the voice of praise and prayer, lay, we beseech Thee, Thy strengthening hand, that they may sing with the spirit and with the understanding also. Finally we entreat Thee that the course of our lives may be so ordered that at the last we may sing with angels and archangels that new song which is the song of those redeemed by the cross and passion of Thy dear son, our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, to Whom with Thee and The Holy Ghost be all honour and glory, both now and evermore. Amen."

Then followed Matins. The special Lessons, 2 Chronicles v. 11 to end; Revelation xiv. 1-7.

After the morning service, an organ recital was given by H. W. Richards, Esq., organist of Christ Church, Lancaster Gate.

At Evensong the Special Psalms were xcviii., cxlix., and cl.; the Special Lessons, Ezra iii. 1-4; Revelation xv.

The recital after the Evening Service was given by Doctor Bunnett, organist of St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, and organist to the Corporation of the City of Norwich.

The organ was exhibited to visitors and played upon by Mr. Spratt, to whose untiring zeal and great knowledge of the construction and the use of organs the beautiful instrument thus solemnly dedicated mainly owes its existence and its perfection. The technical details of its parts will be found in the Appendix, page 260.

It was difficult for any one who had not seen the Chapel since the old times to realise that it was the same building. The work had included the complete stripping



From a photograph by] [J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge THE CHAPEL, A.D. 1704, AS ALTERED 1895.

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of the walls of the Chapel, in consequence of the defective state of the old plaster-work, and their recoating with Parian cement, the reparation of the ceiling and cornice, the relaying of the old marble floor, and the introduction of a new heating apparatus. A richly ornamented frieze had been placed beneath the cornice, and the bareness of the wall surface above the windows relieved by panels of plaster work. The ceiling and walls had been distempered throughout.

The old oak work had been cleaned from incrustations of varnish, the beautiful details of the old carving being thus brought into prominent relief. The altar platform had been set back a foot pace, and a new altar-table, of solid oak and marble, and a credence-table, had been provided. Candlesticks of attractive design had replaced the old china tubes, made in the semblance of candles, from which jets of gas used to proceed.

The level of the Ante-chapel had been lowered one foot, and a new floor of black and white marble, laid diagonally, replaced the old stone floor, which was much broken and defaced. The walls of the Ante-chapel had been panelled with oak, and a lobby with doors and pilasters of richly carved oak had been added on the south side. On the north side a smaller door with corresponding lobby had been inserted to provide an entrance for the choir and afford access to a vestry, the erection of which was under consideration. Above the ceiling of the Ante-chapel, of highly elaborate design, the organ was placed, its weight being borne on iron girders. The many difficulties involved had been successfully overcome by the skill of the architect (Thomas Garner, Esq.) and the builders (Messrs. Rattee and Kett of Cambridge).

On the west face of the screen a tablet of brass is to be placed to commemorate the renovation of the Chapel in affectionate remembrance of Henry Philpott, Bishop of Worcester, for sixteen years the honoured Master of this ancient foundation.

A window of painted glass has since been inserted by Alfred Pretor, Esq., one of the Fellows of the College, a liberal donor. It is the easternmost window on the south side, and is the first of a series depicting the legend of St. Catharine; the subject is St. Catharine before the Emperor.

In the evening a dinner was given in the College Hall.

The Master, Dr. Robinson, in proposing the toast of the Queen, made reference to the special esteem in which her Majesty and the late Prince Consort held Dr. Philpott, his predecessor, late Bishop of Worcester. And in proposing "Prosperity to the College" he pointed out that they were within six days of the 420th anniversary of the License to hold Divine Service in the original Chapel of the College, the immediate predecessor of the building that day reopened. He spoke of five of his predecessors in the Mastership, the eminent divine of the Commonwealth, Dr. Lightfoot, beneath whose portrait he was standing; Dr. Eachard; Sir William Dawes, Archbishop of York, who is buried in the Ante-chapel by the side of the fair wife whom he lost in youth when he was Master; Sherlock, Bishop of London; and Dr. Philpott, whose services to the University were of unrivalled importance. The toast was responded to by Canon G. F. Browne, of St. Paul's, formerly a Fellow and since Bishop of Bristol, and Sir C. C. Trevor, C.B.

Professor Lumby, the Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, proposed "The Non-Residents," to which Canons Norman and Cockshott and the Reverend S. Bentley replied. The toast of "The Master" concluded the formal list of the proceedings. Then the health of A. W. Spratt was drunk with musical honours, Mr. Spratt expressing in reply the hope that the College might continue to turn out sound scholars, good cricketers, good oarsmen and good Christians, men who are prepared to uphold Church and State, and in all places and at all times to do their duty. The healths of the President and late Tutor, the Reverend E. T. S. Carr, and of the Reverend W. T. Southward, joint Tutor with Mr. Spratt, were received with great heartiness, and their characteristically short and pointed speeches closed the proceedings, so far as the Hall was concerned.

Behind the Chapel, on the site of the old fives-court, a Choir Room has been built, connected with the Chapel by a cloister. Here the daily practice of the choristers and singing men, most of whom are exhibitioners of the College, is conducted; and here the choir assemble, twenty-seven strong, on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday evenings for choral evensong; and on Sundays for the ordinary services, which are of the Cathedral type, the music being of the most difficult and elaborate nature, and requiring great care and experience, besides constant practice, for its exposition.

The acting officials of the College at the present time (1902) are, besides the Master: Tutors, Mr. A. W. Spratt, M.A., Rev. W. T. Southward, M.A., Mus.B.; Bursar, Rev. E. T. S. Carr, M.A.; Dean, Mr. Spratt; Chaplain, Mr. Southward; Steward, Mr. Spratt.

The instruction of the College is allotted as follows: Classics, Mr. Spratt; Mathematics, Mr. C. J. Lay, M.A.; Theology, Rev. W. T. Southward; History, Mr. F. M. Rushmore,

The amount distributed by the College in benefactions, partly open scholarships, partly grants and assistances to the sons of former members and to ordination candidates, is very remarkable, in proportion to the income of the College, reaching in some years to more than £1200. The Tutors have throughout their tenure of office endeavoured to attract and retain for the College men who should be useful to their country in Church and State: and in furtherance of this object have been liberal in reduction and remission of their fees in deserving cases. The number of undergraduate members of the College now average about sixty. It is to be hoped that old St. Catharine's men will remember the claims which the College has upon their attention, and will recruit from their own families the stock, so full of interest, which the College has through four centuries and a quarter so faithfully reared.

It is worth putting on record, in this little history of a small College, that the whole of the members of the Boat-club once rowed in the College Boat through the week of the May races, and kept their place on the river, and that no unworthy place. This occurred in the year 1857. In the three years 1854, 1855, 1856. the boat had made twenty-one places, rising from thirtieth on the river to ninth. In those three years the College made its bump every night but one, and on one night it made two places. The same undergraduate gave the time for the start on all the twenty-one nights except one; on that afternoon he had been thrown from his horse at the Newmarket races, and could not get back to start the boat. That was the only night of the twenty-one on which it did not make its bump.

One of the many bumps was disputed, and the captains directed that the race should be rowed again the next afternoon. The College determined to row on till the rival boat, Magdalene, stopped of its own accord. This did not happen till the moment when the prow of the boat, having mounted the side of the boat in front, ripped up the jersey of number 6. When 1857 came, so many of the rowing-men had gone down, that only eight full members of the Boat Club remained. honorary member was made a full member, who had on twenty previous occasions started the boat, and put into the boat, and with that crew, comprising all the nine members of the Club, they rowed through the May week, overlapping the eighth boat, Sidney, night after night in the Long Reach. Unfortunately they took off the next year and tied up at the bottom, instead of going down a place each night like men and hoping for some fresh acquisition of rowing strength.

A list of some of our University Blues may be given here.

Athletic Sports:—One Mile: E. S. T. Badger, 1886; R. R. Conway, 1884; J. W. Shuker, 1886 and 1887. Three miles: E. S. T. Badger, 1887. High Jump: L. H. Browning, 1887. Long Jump: E. W. Stocks, 1875, 1876; G. Wiles. Cross Country Running: E. S. T. Badger, 1887; R. R. Conway, 1883 and 1884; D. E. Payn, 1885 and 1886.

Billiards:—E. P. Ward.

Bicycling: -- C. K. Phillips, 1901.

Golf:-H. C. Bourne, 1885.

Chess:—R. Battersby, 1896 and 1897; F. P. Carr, 1879 and 1880; E. L. Kearney, 1877; H. E. Robinson, 1886 to 1890 (included); A. L. Stainer, 1899.

Association Football:—L. T. Driffield, 1900, 1901 and 1902.

Cricket:—G. F. Helm, 1862 and 1863; C. F. Norman, 1852 and 1853; L. T. Driffield, 1902.

It rests with the Undergraduates and the younger graduates of the College to keep up its record of useful work in Church and State. Dr. Sherlock's words of two hundred years ago, quoted on the title page, were eloquent in their generation and true. The members of the College who are now nearing the end of their work in life hope that those words have not entirely ceased to be true of times less remote: and they pray that in the near future the words may become more and more abundantly true: "Mater nostra Catherina, prole sua felix, multos nunc et olim sibi vendicat, summis Ecclesiæ et Reipublicæ honoribus ornatos, viros omni laudum genere florentissimos, et matre virgine filios non indignos."

APPENDÌX

BISHOPS WHO HAVE BEEN MEMBERS OF THE COLLEGE

Blackhall, Offspring.
Boyd Carpenter, William.
*Bradford, Samuel.
Browne, George Forrest.
Brownrigge, Ralph.
Dawes, Sir William.
Dealtry, Thomas.
Forster, William.
Hoadly, Benjamin.
Hoadly, John.
Hutchinson, Francis.
Leng, John.

Mey, John.
Moule, Handley C. G.
Overall, John.
Pain, Arthur Wellesley
Philpott, Henry.
Rust, George.
Sandys, Edwin.
Sherlock, Thomas.
Thomas, John.
Turton, Thomas.
Wilson, Christopher.

MASTERS OF ST. CATHARINE'S.

14/3	1. INDUCT WOULDERS.
1475	II. Richard Roche.
1479	III. John Tapton.
1487	IV. John Wardall.
1506	V. Richard Balderstone.
1507	VI. Thomas Green.
1529	VII. Reginald Baynbrigge.
1547	VIII. Edwin Sandys.
I554	IX. Edmund Cosin.
1559	X. John Mey.
1577	XI. Edmund Hounde.
1598	XII. John Overall.
1607	XIII. John Hills.
1626	XIV. Richard Sibbs.
Thor	XV. Ralph Brownrigge.

Robert Wodelarke

XVI. William Spurstow. 1645 1650 XVII. John Lightfoot. 1675 XVIII. John Eachard. XIX. Sir William Dawes, 1697 Bart, XX. Thomas Sherlock. 1714 XXI. Thomas Crosse. 1719 1736 XXII. Edward Hubbard. 1741 XXIII. Kenrick Prescot. 1779 XXIV. Lowther Yates. XXV. Joseph Procter. 1845 XXVI. Henry Philpott. 1861 XXVII. Charles Kirkby Robinson.

* Samuel Bradford is the only one of the Bishops who is not named in the text. Cole states that he was a Catharine man. He was Prebendary of Westminster, Bishop of Carlisle 1718-23, and Bishop of Rochester 1723-1731. He was born about 1651, entered at Corpus, and proceeded M.A. from that College in 1681. After some vicissitudes he became Master of Corpus. "Bradford" entered Fellow-Commoner at St. Catharine's in 1685, when he was already M.A. The statement of Cole must mean that this was Samuel Bradford, the future Bishop, who had deserted Corpus for a time and afterwards returned as Master.

LIST OF PERSONS ENTERED AT ST. CATHARINE'S AS NOBLEMEN (N.) AND FELLOW COMMONERS, 1627-1757.

ADAMS, Ri., Lond., 1635.
Allan, Th., Allan Flatts, Durh., 1739.
Alstone, Pe., 1628.
Amcott, 1644.
Anderson, Sir Edm. (N.), 1704.

BACON, Nath., Suff., 1660. Bacon, Nich., Suff., 1634. Bacon, Ri., 1668. junr., 1669. Basil, Martin, 1630. Barnard, Th., 1663. Barnardiston, Rob., Bedf., 1637. Barnardiston, Th., Suff., 1632. Barnardiston, Th., 1633. Baker, Rob., Suss., 1633. Bedingfield, 1672. Bellamy, Joh., 1679. Crayle, Lond., 1740. Bellasie, Wm., York, 1628. Bennet, junr., 1644. Bennett, 1644. Bent, Geo., Devon, 1726. Biddulph, Mi., 1677. Blomfield, Wm., 1677. Bloys, 1665. Bloyse, Suff., 1640, 1. Blunt, 1686. Bonfoy, Herts., 1690. Boothby, 1665. Bovey, Ra., Lond., 1631. Bower, 1686. Bracey, 1645. Bradford (M.A.), 1685. Brame, 1652. Brand, 1683. Brett, Jo., 1663. Brewster, Fra., Suff., 1640, 1.

Brograve, Aug., 1680.

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Brooke, Suff., 1637.
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Bunbury, Sir C. (N.), 1764.
Bunbury, Sir H. (N.), 1693.
Bunbury, H., s. of Sir H., 1719.
Bunbury, H., s. of Sir W., 1767.
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,, 1674.
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,, Ja., 1668.
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" Jo., Ess., 1632.

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"Geo., Ess., 1637.
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"Ja., 1699.
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" Wm., Cant., 1636.
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" Rob., 1663.
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A printed account of many of the above-named Members of the College is placed by the author in the College Library.

APPENDIX

Willoughby, Sir Fra. (N.), 1682 Willoughby, Th., 1683. Windham, Jo., Norf., 1638. Winnington, Fra., 1710. Wiseman, sen., 1645. Wiseman, jun., 1645. Wood, 1648. Woodhall, Th., Ess., 1633. Wright, Rob., Surr., 1634. Wyngate, 1644.

PORTRAITS.

The portraits in the Hall, Combination Room, and Master's Lodge deserve more attention than they have received in the past or can receive here.

It has been noted that in 1745 Mrs. Ramsden left to the College all her pictures. They cost £5 17s. "for carriage and porterage," and were placed in the Hall and Lodge. Some of the portraits are very good as paintings, and some of the persons are very charming. There is a list of most of them in a Tract in the University Library.* It mentions the following:

- 1. Lady Ayscough, Mrs. Ramsden's first cousin, half-length.
- 2. Another lady, half-length.
- 3-6. A lady, and three gentlemen, unknown, by Sir Godfrey Kneller.
- 7. Mrs. Mary Ramsden, the foundress, a charming picture.
- 8. Mr. Brearey, Rector of Boxworth, Cambs., half-length.
- 9. Mrs. Brearey, his wife, Mrs. Ramsden's sister, half-length.
- 10. Mrs. Ramsden's father, half-length.
- Mrs. Ramsden's mother, a charming picture, said to be by Sir Peter Lely, half-length.
- 12-14. A divine, and two ladies, unknown, three-quarters. Some of these sizes appear to be wrong.

In 1773 the College paid to Mr. Freeman, their adviser

* Room Theta. A Catalogue of Pictures in the Public Library and respective Colleges. J. Archdeacon, Printer to the University.

in the management of the estates of the College, £12 12s. "for a half-length picture of the Founder." In 1776 they paid £1 1s. "for repairing Dr. Gostlyn."

In April 1849 the Reverend Francis Procter gave to the College ten pictures for the Lodge, the property of his late uncle, Dr. Procter. The list of these pictures is in the College Order Book under date April 30, 1849.

The gift of the portrait of Archdeacon Blackburn has been recorded on page 197.

In 1841 the College paid for a picture of St. Catharine, painted by Mrs. Criddle, £52 10s., and for the frame and carriage £10 18s. The tradition is that the picture was intended to fill the panel at the east end of the Chapel, but proving to be too broad for the panel, it has remained ever since in the College Hall.

The pictures now (1902) in the Hall are as follows: Beginning at the north-east corner and passing round the walls, we have, (1) Mrs. Ramsden, (2) Dr. Woodlark, (3) Bishop Benjamin Hoadly, as Chancellor of the Garter; (4) In the bay, Bishop Sherlock; (5) In the bay, a divine, unknown; (6) Bishop Turton, as Dean of Westminster; (7) John Ray? Overall?; (7) Dr. Corrie, and above him (8) An elderly lady, one of the Ramsden portraits, probably Mrs. Ramsden's grandmother, Mary Skerne, wife of the elder Robert Robinson; (9) St. Catharine; (10) Mrs. Ramsden's father, Robert Robinson, and above him (11) Mrs. Ramsden's mother; (12) Archbishop Sandys; (13) A divine, unknown, the object of the remark "Looks as if he was raised on warped land," page 185; (14) Dr. John Lightfoot. Several of these pictures greatly need skilled attention; they are perishing. Several of the pictures in the Combination Room are of doubtful attribution or of persons unknown. Beginning at the north-east corner and passing round the walls, we have (15) A gentleman unknown; (16) A gentleman unknown, a very attractive

person; (17) Dr. Gostlyn, a very unattractive person (18) Sir John Cutts in youth (see No. 29); (19) A gentleman unknown; (20) Dr. Procter; (21) A person unknown, one of the oldest portraits; (22) A divine, unknown; (23) Probably one of the Ramsden portraits; (24) A divine, unknown; (25) A person unknown; (26) Said to be Charles I. as a child; (27) Bishop Turton, very poor; (28) Archdeacon Blackburn; (29) Lord Cutts in middle age (see No. 18); (30) Unknown. There is a sort of tradition that persons who entered as noblemen presented their portraits to the Combination Room. If there is any substance in this tradition, the handsomely dressed laymen whose portraits are now in the room may be any of these: Sir Edmund Anderson (1704), Sir John Brograve (1764), Sir C. Bunbury (1764), Sir H. Bunbury (1693), Sir Robert Dawes (1685), Hatton Rich (1639), Sir Thomas Roberts (1708), Sir John Spencer (1694), Sir Francis Willoughby (1682).

In the dining-room of the Master's Lodge there is a portrait of John Ray, Ex dono Ri: Ray Armig. 1752, and a portrait of Dr. Burroughs in scarlet. On the same wall with Dr. Burroughs is a divine with an addressed letter in his hand. Some twenty-five years ago we read the address: A l'avoyer et conseil de Payerne. The present writer made inquiry in the annals of Payerne, but could not identify any Catharine Hall man as connected with religious matters there. In the drawing-room are probably three Ramsden portraits—a lady unknown on the left side of the fireplace, and on the right side perhaps Mrs. Ramsden's brother, Thomas Robinson, and her sister, Mrs. Brearey, next to him on the west wall; or these two are said to be Lady Ayscough and her brother, cousins of Mrs. Ramsden. The two ladies appear to be sisters.

Over the fireplace in the Hall is another of the Ramsden portraits, a pretty woman; on the staircase yet another, a 250

The amount distributed by the College in benefactions, partly open scholarships, partly grants and assistances to the sons of former members and to ordination candidates, is very remarkable, in proportion to the income of the College, reaching in some years to more than £1200. The Tutors have throughout their tenure of office endeavoured to attract and retain for the College men who should be useful to their country in Church and State: and in furtherance of this object have been liberal in reduction and remission of their fees in deserving cases. The number of undergraduate members of the College now average about sixty. It is to be hoped that old St. Catharine's men will remember the claims which the College has upon their attention, and will recruit from their own families the stock, so full of interest, which the College has through four centuries and a quarter so faithfully reared.

It is worth putting on record, in this little history of a small College, that the whole of the members of the Boat-club once rowed in the College Boat through the week of the May races, and kept their place on the river, and that no unworthy place. This occurred in the year 1857. In the three years 1854, 1855, 1856, the boat had made twenty-one places, rising from thirtieth on the river to ninth. In those three years the College made its bump every night but one, and on one night it made two places. The same undergraduate gave the time for the start on all the twenty-one nights except one; on that afternoon he had been thrown from his horse at the Newmarket races, and could not get back to start the boat. That was the only night of the twenty-one on which it did not make its bump.

One of the many bumps was disputed, and the captains directed that the race should be rowed again the next afternoon. The College determined to row on till the rival boat, Magdalene, stopped of its own accord. This did not happen till the moment when the prow of the boat, having mounted the side of the boat in front, ripped up the jersey of number 6. When 1857 came, so many of the rowing-men had gone down, that only eight full members of the Boat Club remained. The honorary member was made a full member, who had on twenty previous occasions started the boat, and put into the boat, and with that crew, comprising all the nine members of the Club, they rowed through the May week, overlapping the eighth boat, Sidney, night after night in the Long Reach. Unfortunately they took off the next year and tied up at the bottom, instead of going down a place each night like men and hoping for some fresh acquisition of rowing strength.

A list of some of our University Blues may be given here.

Athletic Sports:—One Mile: E. S. T. Badger, 1886; R. R. Conway, 1884; J. W. Shuker, 1886 and 1887. Three miles: E. S. T. Badger, 1887. High Jump: L. H. Browning, 1887. Long Jump: E. W. Stocks, 1875, 1876; G. Wiles. Cross Country Running: E. S. T. Badger, 1887; R. R. Conway, 1883 and 1884; D. E. Payn, 1885 and 1886.

Billiards: -E. P. Ward.

Bicycling: C. K. Phillips, 1901.

Golf:-H. C. Bourne, 1885.

Chess:—R. Battersby, 1896 and 1897; F. P. Carr, 1879 and 1880; E. L. Kearney, 1877; H. E. Robinson, 1886 to 1890 (included); A. L. Stainer, 1899.

Association Football: L. T. Driffield, 1900, 1901 and 1902.

Cricket: -G. F. Helm, 1862 and 1863; C. F. Norman, 1852 and 1853; L. T. Driffield, 1902.

It rests with the Undergraduates and the younger graduates of the College to keep up its record of useful work in Church and State. Dr. Sherlock's words of two hundred years ago, quoted on the title page, were eloquent in their generation and true. The members of the College who are now nearing the end of their work in life hope that those words have not entirely ceased to be true of times less remote: and they pray that in the near future the words may become more and more abundantly true: "Mater nostra Catherina, prole sua felix, multos nunc et olim sibi vendicat, summis Ecclesiæ et Reipublicæ honoribus ornatos, viros omni laudum genere florentissimos, et matre virgine filios non indignos."

APPENDIX

BISHOPS WHO HAVE BEEN MEMBERS OF THE COLLEGE

Blackhall, Offspring. Boyd Carpenter, William. *Bradford, Samuel. Browne, George Forrest. Brownrigge, Ralph. Dawes, Sir William. Dealtry, Thomas. Forster, William. Hoadly, Benjamin. Hoadly, John. Hutchinson, Francis. Leng, John.

Mey, John. Moule, Handley C. G. Overall, John. Pain, Arthur Wellesley Philpott, Henry. Rust, George. Sandys, Edwin. Sherlock, Thomas. Thomas, John. Turton, Thomas. Wilson, Christopher.

MASTERS OF ST. CATHARINE'S.

1473	I. Robert Wodelarke.	1645 XVI. William Spurstow.
1475	II. Richard Roche.	1650 XVII. John Lightfoot,
1479	III. John Tapton.	1675 XVIII. John Eachard.
1487	IV. John Wardall.	1697 XIX. Sir William Dawes,
1506	V. Richard Balderstone.	Bart.
1507	VI. Thomas Green.	1714 XX. Thomas Sherlock.
1529	VII. Reginald Baynbrigge.	1719 XXI. Thomas Crosse.
1547	VIII. Edwin Sandys.	1736 XXII. Edward Hubbard.
1554	IX. Edmund Cosin.	1741 XXIII. Kenrick Prescot.
1559	X. John Mey.	1779 XXIV. Lowther Yates.
1577	XI. Edmund Hounde.	1799 XXV. Joseph Procter.
1598	XII. John Overall.	1845 XXVI. Henry Philpott.
1607	XIII. John Hills.	1861 XXVII. Charles Kirkby Rob-
1626	XIV. Richard Sibbs.	inson.
1635	XV. Ralph Brownrigge.	I

* Samuel Bradford is the only one of the Bishops who is not named in the text. Cole states that he was a Catharine man. He was Prebendary of Westminster, Bishop of Carlisle 1718-23, and Bishop of Rochester 1723-1731. He was born about 1651, entered at Corpus, and proceeded M.A. from that College in 1681. After some vicissitudes he became Master of Corpus. "Bradford" entered Fellow-Commoner at St. Catharine's in 1685, when he was already M.A. The statement of Cole must mean that this was Samuel Bradford, the future Bishop, who had deserted Corpus for a time and afterwards returned as Master.

Orator in presenting the right Reverend G. F. Browne, Bishop of Stepney, for the degree of D.D. honoris causa:

Scholæ antiquissimæ discipulum, Collegio ab antiquo honoris causa Socium electum, virum de Universitate tota præclare meritum, etiam ipsi honoris causa libenter salutamus. Sexto abhine anno Sancti Pauli canonicis adscriptus et episcopatus titulo postea ornatus, novimus quanta assiduitate in laboribus sacris obeundis versatus sit; quotiens populi totius in gratiam Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ historiam quanto lumine illustraverit. Recordamur quanto prioris ævi amore instinctus patriæ monumenta antiqua inter nosmet ipsos per quinquennium interpretatus sit; quanto iudicio procuratoris officio per sex annos functus sit; Universitatis statutis denuo recensendis quattuor per annos adiutor quam strenuus exstiterit; Universitatis concilio quanta cum dignitate per annos sedecim interfuerit; Universitatis denique imperio non modo patriæ per omnes partes sed etiam in colonias nostras longinquas prospere propagando annos duo et viginti quam feliciter dedicaverit. Quid dicam de Alpibus ipsis ab alumno nostro totiens olim superatis? quid de antris glacialibus ab eodem audacter Alumni nostri nomen, non iam antri inhospiexploratis? talis in obscuritate absconditum sed urbis magnæ in media luce, imperii Britannici in ipso capite conspiciendum, non saxi duri in tabulis insculptum sed Matris Almæ in pectore grato in perpetuum erit inscriptum. Etenim talium virorum auxilio Universitatis nostræ fama in omnes terras evecta est, et præcepta eius orbis terrarum in regiones remotissimas penetrarunt. Talium virorum et præcepto et exemplo admoniti plurimi didicerunt vitam sine veri inquisitione esse vacuam, sine ordine esse vanam, multum valere doctrinam examine iusto spectatam et probatam; Socratis denique dictum plusquam uno in sensu denuo esse verum :- δ ἀνεξέταστος βίος οὐ βιωτός ὰνθρώπά.

Duco ad vos virum admodum reverendum, Georgium Forrest Browne, Episcopum Stepneiensem.

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